

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ANCIENT GREECE,  
ITS  
COLONIES AND CONQUESTS;  
FROM THE  
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS,  
TILL THE  
DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE  
IN THE EAST.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF  
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND  
THE FINE ARTS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

Ἐν μὲν τούτῳ τῆς ἀπαντῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθίσεως, ἵτι δι  
ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως αὖ τις ἐφίκοιτο καὶ διηγεῖται κατὸ πτυχεύς,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρησίμον καὶ τὸ τέρπειν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.

POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR MESSRS. BURNET, COLLES, MONCRIEFFE,  
EXSMAN, WHITE, BYRNE, CASH, MARCHEANK,  
M'KENZIE, MOORE, JONES.

M DCC LXXXVI.





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OF THE

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THE





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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E E C E.

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C H A P. XXXI.

*Tumults in the Peloponnesus.—Invasion of Laconia. Epaminondas rebuilds Messenè.—Archidamus restores the Fortune of Sparta.—Foundation of Megalopolis.—Affairs of Thessaly and Macedon.—Negotiations for Peace.—The Pretensions of Thebes rejected.—Epaminondas invades the Peloponnesus.—Revolutions in Achaia.—Speech of Archidamus in the Spartan Council.—Designs of Thebes—Disconcerted by Athens.—Pelopidas's Expedition in Thessaly.—The Arcadians seize the Olympic Treasure.—Battle of Mantinæa.—Agesilaus's Expedition into Egypt.*

**T**HE death of Jason removed the terror of Greece ; but of a country which owed its safety to the arm of an assassin, the condition may justly be regarded as extremely unstable and precarious. There elapsed, however, C H A P. XXXI.  
History of the last stage of Grecian freedom.  
 Vol. III. B thirty.





CHAP. thirty-three years of discord and calamity, before the Greeks finally experienced, in Philip  
 XXXI. of Macedon, such ambition and abilities as enabled him fully to accomplish the lofty designs of the Theſſalian. The history of this last stage of tumultuous liberty comprehends the bloody but indeciſive wars, which exhausted Greece during eleven years that intervened between the battle of Leuctra, and the acceſſion of Philip to the Macedonian throne, together with the active reign of that prince; a memorable period of twenty-two years, illuminated by the ſucceſs and glory of Macedon, and clouded by the diſgrace and ruin of the Grecian republics.

Tumults  
 and ſediti-  
 ons in the  
 Pelopon-  
 neſus after  
 the battle  
 of Leuc-  
 tra.  
 Olymp.  
 cii. 3.  
 A. C. 370.

The unexpected iſſue of the battle of Leuctra was doubly prejudicial to the Spartans, by weakening their own confederacy, and ſtrengthening that of their enemies. In leſs than two years after that important event, the alliance in Peloponneſus, over which Sparta had ſo long maintained an aſcendant, was totally diſſolved, and moſt cities had changed not only their foreign connections, but their domeſtic laws and government. During the ſame period, the confederacy of which Thebes was the head, had, on the contrary, been very widely extended. Many communities of the Peloponneſus courted her protection; and, in the north of Greece, the Acarnanians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole breadth of the continent, from the Ionian to the Ægean ſea, and even the iſle of Eubœa, increaſed the power, and in ſome meaſure acknowledged the dominion of Thebes. The hiſtory of theſe revolutions is very imperfectly related by ancient writers; but their conſequences were too remarkable not to be attended to and explained.

explained. The Peloponnesians, after being delivered from the oppression of the Spartan yoke, were subjected to the more destructive tyranny of their own ungovernable passions<sup>1</sup>. Every state and every city was torn by factions which frequently blazed forth into the most violent seditions. The exiles from several republics were nearly as numerous as those who had expelled them. Fourteen hundred were banished from Tegea; two thousand<sup>2</sup> were slain in Argos; in many places the contending factions alternately prevailed; and those who, in the first encounter, had got possession of the government and the capital, were sometimes attacked<sup>3</sup> and conquered by the numerous fugitives, who formed a camp in the adjoining territory. The Mantinæans alone seem to have acted wisely. With one accord, and with equal diligence, they laboured to rebuild their walls, which the insolence of Sparta had demolished. The work was soon brought to a conclusion; and the Mantinæans united in one democracy, fully determined thenceforth to preserve the strength of their city, which appeared necessary to maintain their political independence.

CHAP.  
XXXI.

Neither the Thebans nor the Spartans immediately interfered in this scene of disorder. The former found sufficient employment for their arms

The ex-  
iles fly to  
Sparta.

B 2

arms

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, l. xv. p. 371, & seqq. Isocrat. in Archidam. & de Pace.

<sup>2</sup> This number is made out by comparing different authors, and uniting in one view the different scenes of the sedition, which is called the Scytalism by Diodorus (ubi supra), and Pausanias (Corinth), from the Greek word σκυταλη, signifying a club, which, it seems, was the principal instrument of slaughter.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus, ibid.

CHAP. arms and negotiations in the northern parts of  
 XXXI. Greece; and the latter were so much humbled  
 by their defeat at Leuctra, that they contented  
 themselves with preparing to defend the banks  
 of the Eurotas, and to repel the expected assault  
 of their capital. For this purpose they had  
 armed the aged and infirm, who were legally  
 exempted from military service<sup>4</sup>. They had  
 commanded into the field even those citizens  
 who were employed in such sacred and civil  
 offices as are deemed most useful in society;  
 and, as their last resource, they talked of giving  
 arms to the Helots. But the convulsions of Pe-  
 loponnesus soon supplied them with less dange-  
 rous auxiliaries<sup>5</sup>. The incensed partizans of  
 aristocracy, who had been expelled from Argo-  
 lis, Achaia, and Arcadia, had recourse to the  
 most ancient and distinguished patrons of their  
 political principles. Encouraged by this season-  
 able reinforcement, the Spartans set at defiance  
 the Theban invasion, by which they had been  
 so long threatened, and sent a considerable de-  
 tachment to recover their lost authority in Ar-  
 cadia. But it was the fate of Sparta, to regain  
 neither in that, nor in any other state of the  
 Peloponnesus, the influence which she had lost  
 in the field of Leuctra. Polytropos, who com-  
 manded her allies in this expedition, was de-  
 feated and slain in the first rencounter with the  
 Arcadians and Lycomedes, their intrepid and  
 magnanimous leader. Nor did Agesilaus per-  
 form any thing decisive against the enemy. He  
 was contented with ravaging the villages and  
 delightful fields of Arcadia, in which he met  
 with

That re-  
 public at-  
 tempts in  
 vain to re-  
 cover her  
 authority  
 in Arca-  
 dia.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. l. vi. p. 597.

<sup>5</sup> Id. p. 603.



with little resistance from the inhabitants, who declined an engagement, until they should be joined by the Theban confederacy, whose assistance they had sent to solicit, and had just reason to expect <sup>6</sup>.

At length the far-renowned Thebans took the field, having carefully pondered their own strength, and collected into one body the flower and vigour of their numerous allies. They were accompanied by the warlike youth of the towns and villages of Bœotia, by the Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eubœans, and by a promiscuous crowd of needy fugitives, who were attracted to their camp by the allure-ment of plunder. They had no sooner arrived on the frontier of Arcadia, than they were joined by the inhabitants of that country, as well as by the Elians and Argives. This united mass of war exceeded any numbers, that either before or afterwards ever assembled in Greece under one standard, amounting to fifty, some say to seventy thousand men <sup>7</sup>. The Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians, were commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to whom the generous admiration of their colleagues had voluntarily resigned their authority. Apprised of the march of such a formidable army, conducted by generals of such unquestionable merit, Agesilaus prepared to evacuate Arcadia, a measure which he fortunately effected, before his soldiers beheld the fires kindled in the hostile camp, and thus avoided the disgrace of re-tiring

CHAP.

XXXI.

The The-  
bans take  
the field at  
the head  
of their  
allies.

Olymp.  
cii. 4.  
A C. 369.

The Spar-  
tans eva-  
cuate Ar-  
cadia.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. p. 605.

<sup>7</sup> The numbers differ in Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. Pausan. Bœotic. Diodorus, l. xv. & Plut. in Pelopid.



CHAP. XXXI. tiring before the enemy<sup>8</sup>. His unresisted devastation of the territory which he had invaded, as well as his successful retreat, gave fresh spirits to his followers, and made them return with better hopes to defend their own country, which was now threatened with invasion.

Invasion of  
Laconia.

The Thebans, though they had no longer any occasion to protect the Arcadians from insult, were determined<sup>9</sup> by many powerful motives, to employ the vast preparations which they had collected. Their particular resentment against Sparta was heightened by the general voice of their allies, who exhorted them to embrace an opportunity which, perhaps, might never return, utterly to destroy a people who neither could enjoy tranquillity, nor allow their neighbours to enjoy it. The inhabitants of Carya, and of several other towns in Laconia, declared their resolution to revolt from Sparta, as soon as the enemy should enter their boundaries. In a council of war summoned by the Theban generals, it was therefore determined to march without farther delay into the Lacedæmonian territories, to lay waste the country, and, if possible, to take possession of the capital.

Brave defence of  
the district  
Sciritis.

That this resolution might be executed with the greater celerity and effect, the army was thrown into four divisions, destined, by separate roads,

<sup>8</sup> Xenoph. p. 606.

<sup>9</sup> They at first opposed the eagerness of the Arcadians, Elians, and Argives for invading Laconia, considering *ὅτι δυσμετάλωτατη μὲν ἡ λακωνικὴ εἰλεῖτο εἶναι, φέρως δὲ καθίσταται νομίζον ἐπὶ τῆς εὐπροσδοκίας*. "That it would be difficult to penetrate into a country defended by the natural strength of its frontier, or by vigilant garrisons." Xenoph. p. 607.

roads, to break into the devoted province, to join forces at Sellasia, and thence to march in one body to Sparta. The Bœotians, Elians, and Argives penetrated without opposition, by the particular routes which had been assigned them. But when the Arcadians who formed the fourth division of the army, attempted to traverse the district Sciritis, the brave Ischilas, who guarded that important pass, determined to repel them, or to perish. The example of Leonidas at Thermopylæ kindled a generous enthusiasm in the breast of this gallant Spartan. The number of the Arcadian levies so far exceeded his own, that death seemed the sure reward of his courage. Yet he exhorted all those to decline the danger who were not ambitious to share it. He even *commanded* the youth to leave his camp before the engagement, deeming their lives too precious to be risked in so desperate an enterprise. He, with the old soldiers who followed him, chose the present opportunity to meet a glorious death in defence of their country. But their lives were sold dearly. The action was long doubtful: the loss of the Arcadians great; nor did the battle cease till the last of the Spartans had perished <sup>10</sup>.

The confederates having soon after assembled at Sellasia, the place of rendezvous, marched forward to Sparta, burning and destroying all before them. During five hundred years Lacedæmonia had not experienced a similar calamity. The guards who defended the city were thrown into consternation. The women were terrified by the

<sup>10</sup> Xenoph. l. vi. p. 607. and Diodor. l. xv. p. 376. The former indeed adds, « μη τις ἀπεφυγοντις διαφυγῇ. " Unless, perhaps, some one escaped unknown through the enemy."

CHAP. the smoke and tumult raised by the invaders ; a  
 XXXI. spectacle, concerning which it had been their  
 usual boast, that they alone of all the Grecian  
 females, had never beheld it in their native  
 land. Alarmed by the danger which threatened  
 them, and which they were sensible of their own  
 inability to repel, the Spartans embraced the  
 doubtful expedient of giving arms to their pea-  
 sants and slaves, whom they commonly treated  
 with such an excess of cruelty. Not less than six  
 thousand of these unhappy men were engaged,  
 by threats or promises, to undertake the re-  
 luctant defence of the proud tyrants, whom  
 they detested. Their formidable numbers in-  
 creased the general panic, which had seized the  
 magistrates and citizens, and which did not  
 finally cease until the arrival of a powerful body  
 of men from Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and  
 Pallené ; cities which, though they had ever  
 opposed the *despotism*, were unwilling to permit  
 the *destruction* of Sparta.

Vigilant  
 intrepidity  
 of Agefi-  
 laus.

This seasonable reinforcement not only re-  
 moved the consternation of the Spartans, but  
 made them pass with rapidity from the depths  
 of despondency to the joys of success. The  
 kings and magistrates could scarcely restrain  
 their impetuosity from rushing into the field :  
 and this martial enthusiasm, guided by the con-  
 summate prudence of Agefilaus, enabled them  
 to repel the first assaults of the enemy, and to  
 convince them that every succeeding attempt  
 to get possession of the city, must be attended  
 with such fatigue, and danger, and loss of men,  
 as could not be compensated by the success of  
 that enterprise. The conduct of Agefilaus,  
 during this critical emergency, has been highly  
 extolled



extolled by all writers <sup>11</sup>, and never beyond its merit. By a well-contrived ambush in the temple of the Tyndaridæ <sup>12</sup>, he defeated the designs of the assailants : by very uncommon presence <sup>13</sup> of mind, he quelled a dangerous insurrection ; and while, by force or stratagem, he overcame the united efforts of domestic and foreign enemies, he negotiated the most powerful assistance for the relief of his country.

CHAP.  
XXXI.

Immediately after the battle of Leuctra the Athenians had declared their resolution to renew and confirm the treaty of Antalcidas, which, though it diminished the grandeur, yet secured the tranquillity of Greece, and prevented the weakness of any one republic from falling a prey to the ambition of another. But notwithstanding this declaration, which was universally approved by their neighbours, they had, either from resentment or from policy, remained above two years spectators of the decline of the Lacedæmonian, and the growth of the Theban league. Whatever uneasiness might be occasioned by the increasing strength of their new rival, was sufficiently balanced by the decay and downfal

The Spartans and their allies negotiate at Athens a treaty of defence.

<sup>11</sup> Xenoph. & Plut. in Agesilao. Diodorus, l. xv. & Pausanias Lacon.

<sup>12</sup> Castor and Pollux, so called from their mother Tyndaris, or Leda.

<sup>13</sup> The mutineers had entered into a conspiracy to seize an important post in the city. Agesilaus observed them as they marched thither, and immediately suspecting their design, called out, that they had mistaken his orders ; adding his meaning to be, that they should separate into different divisions, and repair to the several posts which he named. The conspirators naturally concluded that he knew nothing of their purpose, and separating, as he commanded, could never afterwards find an opportunity to unite in such numbers as rendered them dangerous.



CHAP. downfal of their ancient and inveterate enemy.  
 XXXI. But though, doubtless, they ardently desired the ruin of the Spartan power, they could not sincerely approve the cruel destruction of their persons, and of their city. When informed of the terrible devastation of Laconia, they naturally felt a return of compassion for a people whose exploits, on many memorable occasions, had done such signal honour to the Grecian name.

Argu-  
ments  
which  
they em-  
ployed for  
this pur-  
pose.

The emissaries of Agesilaus, whose superior mind had assumed dictatorial power amidst the distress of his country, seized the favourable opportunity to urge, with the Athenians, many motives of action, which seldom operate amidst the cold lifeless politics of modern times. They took notice that the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had often mutually assisted each other in seasons of distress, and that the most glorious æra of their story was that in which the two republics had united their councils and measures against a common enemy. That when the spirit of rivalry and ambition had unhappily divided Greece, and the Athenians were exposed to the calamities of a long and unfortunate war, they had been protected by the humanity of Sparta against the implacable rage of the Thebans, who wished to demolish the city of Athens, and to reduce its territory to the barren solitude of the Crissean plain. That by the moderation of Sparta, the Athenians had not only been saved from the vengeance of foreign enemies, but delivered from the yoke of domestic tyrants, and the cruel tyranny of the Pisistratidæ. The merit of these services deserved the reward of gratitude ; the hereditary renown  
 of

of Athens urged her to protect the miserable ; CHAP. and justice demanded that she should assert, and XXXI. maintain, the conditions of a recent treaty, which she herself had proposed, and which the Thebans, after accepting, had so manifestly violated.

A loud and discordant murmur ran through the assembly. Some approved the demand, others observed that the Spartans changed their language with their fortune ; that they had formerly, and probably would again, whenever they became powerful, assume a very different tone, and, instead of colouring by false disguises, display in its native force their inveterate enmity to Athens. That the late treaty of peace could not entitle them to any assistance, since they themselves had begun the war by the invasion of Arcadia ; a war undertaken from the unjust motive of supporting the tyrannical usurpation of the nobles of Tegea over the rights of their fellow-citizens.

Together with the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, had come those of Corinth and Philus, cities eminently distinguished by an unshaken fidelity to their ancient confederate and protector. Cleiteles the Corinthian, observing what turn the debate was likely to take, stood up and said, " Were it a matter of doubt, Athenians ! who are the aggressors, the melancholy experience of *our* state would remove the difficulty. Since the renovation of the peace of Antalcidas, the Corinthians, surely, have not committed hostilities against any power in Greece, yet the Thebans have entered our territory, cut down our trees, burned our houses, plun-

How received by the Athenians.

Speech of Cleiteles, the Corinthian.

CHAP. plundered our cattle and effects. How, then,  
 XXXI. can you refuse your assistance to those who have  
 been so manifestly injured, in direct violation of  
 the treaty, to which, at your express desire,  
 they acceded and swore." The assembly loudly  
 approved the discourse of Cleiteles, which was  
 supported and confirmed by the arguments and  
 eloquence of Patrocles the Phliasian.

Of Patro-  
 cles the  
 Phliasian.

"It is manifest, I think, to all of you, Athenians! that should Sparta be destroyed, Athens must be the next object of the hostility of Thebes, since that city alone would then stand in the way of her ambition. The cause of the Lacedæmonians, therefore is, in fact, your own. You must embrace it with ardour, as the last opportunity which the gods perhaps will afford you, of defending the general freedom at the head of your allies, and of preventing the dangerous domination of the Thebans; the effects of which, you, who are their neighbours, would feel with peculiar severity. By taking this resolution, which is equally generous and salutary, you will acquire a fund of merit, not only with the Spartans, than whom none were ever more mindful of favours, or more ambitious of honest fame, but also with us their allies, who, since we have continued faithful to our friends in their adversity, cannot be suspected of ingratitude to our prosperous benefactors. I have heard with admiration how, in ancient times, the injured and afflicted always had recourse to Athens, and were never disappointed of relief. I now no longer hear, but see, the Lacedæmonians, with their faithful allies, soliciting your protection against the Thebans, whose unrelenting cruelty could not persuade Sparta, in the height of her



her resentment and of her power, to desolate CHAP.  
your country, and to reduce you into servitude. XXXI.

Your ancestors acquired just renown by saving the dead bodies of the Argives, to whom the impiety of Thebes denied the sacred rites of burial <sup>14</sup>. How much greater renown will redound to you, when the Lacedæmonians, by your generous assistance, shall be saved from death. It was deemed meritorious in *them* to have defended the children of Hercules against the unnatural persecution of Eurystheus; but it will be far more glorious for *you* to have defended not only the descendants of that hero, the hereditary kings of Lacedæmon, but, along with them, the senate, the magistrates, the people; in one word, to have delivered the whole nation from a danger dreadful in itself, and otherwise inevitable. During the prosperity of their empire, the Lacedæmonians prevented your destruction by a decree, which displayed their humanity, without exposing their safety. You are called to defend the Lacedæmonians, not by inactive decrees, but by arms and courage. Arm, then, in their behalf; and, forgetful of recent animosities, repay the important services which, in the Barbarian war, the valour of Sparta rendered to Athens and to all Greece."

The assembly was so deeply affected by the Iphi-  
persuasive discourse of the Phliasian, that they crates,  
refused to hear any thing in opposition to it, and with  
determined, almost unanimously, to take the twelve  
field. Iphicrates was named general; twelve thousand  
thousand men were ordered to repair to his men, sent  
standard; Laconia.

<sup>14</sup> See vol. i. c. i. The facts alluded to in the text are related in all the panegyrics of Athens, by Plato, Lysias, Isocrates and Thucydides.

CHAP. standard ; the sacrifices were propitious ; the  
 XXXI troops took a short repast ; and such was their  
 ardour to meet the enemy, that many of them  
 marched forth without waiting the orders of  
 their commander <sup>15</sup>.

Epami- Epaminondas, meanwhile, had committed  
 nondas dreadful devastation in Laconia. His repulse  
 continues from the capital had exasperated his hostili-  
 his ravages ties against the country. He had desolated  
 in that the fertile banks of the Eurotas, which were  
 province. thick planted with houses, and abounding in  
 all the conveniencies of life, known to the austere  
 simplicity of Sparta. He had assaulted Helos,  
 and Gythium ; and, traversing the whole province,  
 had destroyed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants  
 by the sword. Even these terrible ravages did not  
 satisfy his resentment ; he determined, that the  
 invasion of Laconia should not be a temporary evil,  
 which the labour of years might repair ; and for this  
 purpose employed an expedient, which, even after  
 he might evacuate their country, must leave the  
 Lacedæmonians exposed to the rage of an implacable  
 enemy.

Rebuilds We have had occasion to relate the various  
 Messen. fortunes of the Messenians. About three cen-  
 Olym. turies before the period now under review, their  
 cii. 2. city had been demolished by the Spartans ; their  
 A.C. 369. territory had been seized, and divided among  
 that people ; the ancient inhabitants had been  
 reduced into servitude, and compelled to cultivate  
 their paternal fields for the benefit of cruel  
 masters ; or dispersed in miserable banishment,  
 over

<sup>15</sup> This whole transaction is explained in Xenoph. p. 609  
 —613.

over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. After two centuries of humiliation and calamity, the humanity, or perhaps the policy of Athens, took compassion on this unfortunate race, and settled them in the territory of Naupactus, and the neighbouring island of Cephallenia. The Messenians displayed their gratitude by important services during the Peloponnesian war; but their most vigorous exertions could not long retard the declining fortune of Athens. The event of that war rendered Sparta the arbiter of Greece; and the Messenians were the first objects of her memorable tyranny, being universally enslaved, banished, or put to death. It is probable that the scattered remains of this miserable community would flock from every quarter to the standard of Epaminondas, rejoicing in an opportunity to retaliate the unrelenting persecution of a people, who now suffered the calamities which they had so often inflicted. But the general voice of history ascribes to Epaminondas the merit of assembling the Messenians <sup>16</sup>. It is certain, that he rebuilt their city, and put them in possession of their territory; an act of generous compassion which inflicted a most unexpected and cruel punishment on the Spartans, who beheld the ashes of a nation, which they had twice endeavoured to extinguish, revive and flourish in their neighbourhood; continually increase by the accession of Spartan subjects and slaves; and, encouraged by a Theban garrison, and their own inveterate hostility, watch every favourable occasion to exert the full power of their vengeance <sup>17</sup>.

Epami-

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopid. Dior. l. xv. p. 491. Pausan. Messen. p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. 16.



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The Athenians take the field.

Epaminondas had accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, when he received intelligence of the motions of the Athenian army, commanded by Iphicrates. That illustrious general had allowed the ardour of his troops to evaporate, by pursuing a conduct which it is impossible, at this distance of time, to explain, but which the military historian<sup>18</sup> condemns, as highly unworthy of his former renown. When celerity was of the utmost importance, he wasted several precious days at Corinth, without any necessity, or even pretence, for this unseasonable delay. His soldiers loudly demanded to meet the enemy, or even to assault the walls of Argos, the strongest and most populous city in Peloponnesus, and not inferior to Thebes itself in active animosity against their common foe. Iphicrates, however, embraced none of those measures, but led his army towards Arcadia; expecting, perhaps, what actually happened, that the news of his arrival there would deliver Laconia from the hostile invader.

The Thebans evacuate Laconia.

It cannot be imagined, indeed, that Epaminondas feared the issue of an engagement with the Athenians. But he was justly alarmed with the interest which even that people had taken in the danger of Sparta. The indignation and resentment which they, the rivals and enemies of the injured, discovered on this occasion, taught him what sentiments his conduct must excite in more impartial states, should he persist in his original plan, destroy the Lacedæmonian capital, and, as the orator Leptines expressed it,

<sup>18</sup> Xenoph. l. vi. versus finem.

it, "pluck out an eye of Greece <sup>19</sup>." Many CHAP. XXXI.  
 concurring causes tended also to accelerate his departure. The Arcadians were called home to defend their houses and families. The Eleans and Argives were anxious to secure their booty by an expeditious retreat. Even the Thebans were weary of an expedition which had consumed several winter months, a season in which they were not accustomed to keep the field. Provisions likewise grew scarce; and Epaminondas, pressed by difficulties on every side, prepared to evacuate the Lacedæmonian territories; but not (in the words of Xenophon) until "every thing of value had been consumed or plundered, poured out, or burned down <sup>20</sup>."

At the same time that the Thebans left Laco- The The-  
 nia, Iphicrates withdrew the Athenians from bans and  
 the country which they had invaded. The two Athonians  
 armies filed off, as by mutual consent, and re- respec-  
 turned to their respective cities by separate roads, tively ac-  
 without any attempt to interrupt the progress of cuse their  
 each other. Iphicrates was blamed for allowing commanders.  
 an enemy, heavy with plunder, and exhausted  
 by the fatigue of a winter's campaign, to pass  
 unmolested through the Isthmus of Corinth.  
 Pelopidas and Epaminondas were accused and  
 tried before the Theban assembly, for protract-  
 ing the term of their command beyond the time  
 limited by law. The former discovered less  
 courage than might have been expected from  
 his impetuous and daring character. He, who  
 had never feared the sword of an enemy, trem-  
 bled at the angry voice of his insolent accusers.  
 But Epaminondas displayed, on this occasion,  
 VOL. III. C the

<sup>19</sup> Aristot. Rhetor. I. iii. c. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Xenoph. p. 612.



CHAP. the superiority of philosophical firmness, seated  
 XXXI. in the mind, to that constitutional courage  
 which is the result of blood and spirits. The  
 latter is sufficient for a day of battle ; but the  
 former alone can yield support in every vicissitude of fortune.

Epaminondas  
 defends  
 his conduct.

Instead of observing the formality of a regular defence, the illustrious Theban undertook the invidious task of pronouncing his own panegyric<sup>21</sup>. After relating his exploits, without amplification, and without diminution, he concluded by observing, " that he could submit to death without reluctance, secure of immortal fame, earned in the service of his country." The seditious demagogues were awed by his magnanimity ; the anger of the assembly against himself and his colleague dissolved in admiration ; and Epaminondas was conducted from the tribunal with as much glory as from the field of Leuctra.

Intricacy  
 of the subsequent  
 events.

From the invasion of Laconia to the general engagement at Mantinæa, there elapsed six years of indecisive war, and tumultuous activity ; battles lost and gained, conquests made and abandoned, alliances concluded and broken ; treaties of peace proposed, accepted, and violated, by those who felt the unhappy effects of dissensions which their rancorous animosity was unwilling to terminate. In examining the history of this period, we may perceive the same confusion in the relation, which appears at first sight to have been in the events themselves. It is necessary, however, to reduce them into the form of a regular narrative. In important concerns,

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch. de sui Laude, p. 540.



cerns, numerous bodies of men, however they may act without effect, cannot be supposed to act *entirely* without design: their motives, unsteady and capricious as they often are, form the invisible chain which it is the business of the historian to investigate and to follow; since it is otherwise impossible that the transactions which he describes, should afford either real instruction, or any rational entertainment.

Early in the ensuing spring, the Lacedæmonians, with the few allies who still adhered to their cause, dispatched an embassy to Athens, in order to strengthen the bands of amity and union with that republic. In the conference held for that purpose, it appeared that the Spartans were either very deeply affected by the recent obligations conferred on them, or that they very earnestly desired the continuance of similar favours. They acknowledged that the experience, the bravery, the naval victories and fortune of Athens, justly entitled her to the sovereignty of the Grecian seas; and when this concession, which had hitherto been withheld with such disdain, could not satisfy the more patriotic, or rather the less generous members of the assembly, they condescended to grant another acknowledgment still more inconsistent with the pride of their hereditary pretensions; that in such military expeditions as were undertaken by the joint forces of both republics, the command should be equal and alternate; so that an army of Lacedæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) would be commanded during half the campaign by Athenian generals. Patrocles the Phliasian, whose eloquence and address had been distinguished in the former negotiation,

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The alli-

ance be-

tween

Athens

and Sparta

confirmed

and ex-

tended.

Olymp.

ciii. 1.

A. C. 368.

CHAP. XXXI. gociation, was not less active in the present; chiefly by *his* intervention, matters were finally adjusted; an alliance of the most intimate kind was concluded between the two republics; and, by the assistance of the generous Phliasian, the Spartans obtained this important advantage, without the disgrace of many ineffectual overtures, or the mortification of long supplicatory speeches, which they deemed of all things the most grievous <sup>22</sup>.

The Spartans negotiate treaties with Dionysius and Artaxerxes.

The Spartan negotiations, so fortunate in Athens, were equally successful with Dionysius tyrant of Sicily, and Artaxerxes king of Persia. The former, himself a Dorian, naturally lamented the humiliation and distress of a people, who, during seven hundred years, had formed the principal ornament and defence of the Dorian race; and the latter pursued his ordinary system of politics, of assisting the weaker party, in order to balance the contending powers, and to perpetuate the hostilities of Greece.

Military operations.

While the Lacedæmonians gained strength by these important alliances, their enemies took the field. The Arcadians began the campaign by entering the territory of Pallené, an Achæan republic, which still remained faithful to Sparta. The country was laid waste, the villages burned, the city taken by storm, and the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, partly Lacedæmonians, put to the sword. Soon after this success, the Arcadians were joined by the Elians and Argives. Epaminondas likewise marched southward at the head of the Thebans, their foot amounting to seven thousand, and their cavalry to

<sup>22</sup> Xenoph. p. 613—616.

to five hundred. Before he reached the Isthmus, the Lacedæmonians had been reinforced by a body of two thousand Sicilian troops, agreeably to their treaty with Dionysius; and the Athenians had taken the field, under the command of Chabrias, actually the most respected, or at least the most popular, of their generals. It was naturally the object of the Spartan and Athenian commanders, to prevent the junction of Epaminondas with his southern allies. For this purpose they strongly guarded, and even fortified the Isthmus; an expedient which had not been put in practice since the expedition of Xerxes. The Thebans, however, broke through, took Sicyon, and assaulted Corinth. But Chabrias, who happened at this time to enjoy the alternate command, repulsed them with such loss, that Epaminondas judged proper to retire homeward; on which account he was blamed and disgraced by his countrymen, who, insolent with prosperity, thought themselves entitled always to conquer.

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XXXI.

Retreat of  
the The-  
bans.

The unexpected retreat of the Thebans, of which it is not easy to conjecture the real cause<sup>23</sup>, occasioned much dissatisfaction among their confederates, particularly the Arcadians. This simple, but warlike people, had obtained distinguished honour in several recent expeditions. They were usually conducted by the Mantinæan Lycomedes, a man gallant in enterprise, and persevering in execution; rich, noble, eloquent, generous, and affable. Under a commander

Pretension  
of the Ar-  
cadians.

<sup>23</sup> The Theban demagogues, as we learn from Diodorus and Plutarch, accused Epaminondas of treacherous correspondence with the enemy, or at least of secretly favouring their cause; but this is altogether improbable.



**CHAP.** mander equally respected and beloved, the Arcadians found nothing too arduous for their courage. In regular engagements, they commonly proved victorious wherever they fought. But their principal merit was displayed in ambushes and surprise, and all the dangerous stratagems of desultory war. When a favourable occasion summoned their activity, neither length of way, nor difficult mountains, nor storms, nor darkness, could interrupt their course, or prevent their unexpected assault <sup>24</sup>. Unassisted and alone, they had often defeated superior strength and numbers; and when, together with their Peloponnesian allies, they served under the Theban standard, their prowess had been acknowledged and admired by the united army.

Encouraged by  
Lycomedes.

The repulse and retreat of Epaminondas gave relief and splendour to the recent glory of Arcadia, and inspired Lycomedes with an ambition which he easily communicated to his countrymen. He told them, "That they were the most ancient, the most populous, and surely not the least warlike community, in Peloponnesus; but that they had hitherto neglected to profit of the advantages which they possessed. In the memorable war of twenty-seven years, they had joined with the Lacedæmonians, whom they had raised to an authority, of which the Arcadians, as well as the rest of Greece, felt the intolerable oppression. That of late years they had acted with the Thebans, who, by *their* assistance chiefly, had obtained a very alarming degree of power, which they occasionally exerted

<sup>24</sup> Vid. Xenoph. p. 618, & seqq.

erted or remitted, as suited their own convenience, without the smallest regard to the interest of their confederates. If this power should be increased, might not the yoke of Thebes become as grievous as that of Sparta? It was time for the Arcadians to know their own worth; to disdain following the standard of any foreign state; and not only to vindicate their freedom, but to claim their just pre-eminence." The assembly applauded the manly <sup>25</sup> resolution of Lyscomedes; and in order to render it effectual, determined to keep possession of such places as they had taken from the Lacedæmonians or their allies in Elis and Achaia, and to complete their conquests in these and the neighbouring provinces of Peloponnesus.

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For several months they met with little interruption in this design, the Spartans, after the departure of their auxiliaries, not venturing to take the field until the beginning of the ensuing year, when they received a new supply of troops from Dionysius, and both troops <sup>26</sup> and money from Artaxerxes. The Theban arms were actually employed in Thessaly and Macedon, as we shall have occasion hereafter to relate; so that every circumstance conspired to hasten the march of Agesilaus and the Lacedæmonians. But the infirmities incident to old age made him decline the command, which was entrusted to his son Archidamus; his colleague Agesipolis not possessing great abilities either for war or government,

The Spar-  
tans take  
the field to  
oppose the  
designs of  
the Arca-  
dians.  
Olymp.  
ciii. 2.  
A. C. 367.

The

<sup>25</sup> Xenophon's expression is lively; *καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγήμενος*, "thinking him the only man." L. vii. p. 618.

<sup>26</sup> These were not Persians, but *ἑσπέραιοι*, "Greek mercenaries," Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619.

## C H A P.

## XXXI.

Glorious  
campaign  
of the  
Spartans  
under Ar-  
chidamus.

The rapid success of Archidamus, who seemed destined to restore the declining fortune of Sparta, justified the prudent choice of the magistrates and people. He expelled the hostile garrisons from the inferior cities of Laconia, stormed Caryæ, and put the rebellious inhabitants to the sword. From thence he hastened to Arcadia, laid waste the southern frontier of that province, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhasia, when the united strength of the Arcadians, commanded by Lycomedes, and reinforced by the Argives, approached to its relief. Their arrival made Archidamus withdraw to the hills that overhang the obscure village of Midea. While he encamped there, Cissidas, who commanded the Sicilians, declared that the time limited for his absence was expired, and without waiting an answer, ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, and to march towards Laconia. But the nearest passage into that country had been seized by the Messenians. In this difficulty Cissidas applied to Archidamus, who hastened to his defence. The Arcadians and Argives at the same time decamped. The hostile armies encountered near the joining of the two roads which led towards Sparta from Midea and Eutresios. As soon as Archidamus beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form, and when they were ready to advance, addressed them as follows: "Fellow-citizens and friends! if we are still brave, we may look forward with confidence; we may yet retrieve our affairs, and deliver down the republic to posterity as we received it from our ancestors. Let us strive, then, by one glorious effort to recover our hereditary renown; and let us cease



cease being the reproach (instead of what the CHAP. Spartans once were, the ornament and defence) XXXI. of our friends, our parents, our families, and our country."

While he yet spoke, it thundered on the right, though the day was clear and serene. The soldiers roused by the noise, looked towards the direction from which it came, and beheld, in a consecrated grove at no great distance, an altar and statue of Hercules, the great progenitor of Archidamus and the Spartan kings. Animated by the wonderful concurrence of such auspicious circumstances, they were transported with an enthusiasm of valour, and impetuously rushed against their opponents, in full confidence of victory. The enemy, who thought that they had to do with a vanquished and spiritless people, were astonished at their mein and aspect as they advanced to the attack. The few who waited their approach, were totally destroyed; many thousands perished in the pursuit: it is said by ancient historians <sup>27</sup>, that the Spartans lost not a man. Archidamus erected a trophy, and dispatched a messenger to Sparta. The people were assembled, when he communicated his extraordinary intelligence. The aged Agesilaus shed tears of joy. The Ephori and senators sympathised with the emotions of their king. The patriotic weakness was communicated from breast to breast; the amiable contagion spread; the sternest members of this numerous assembly dissolved in softness, and melted in sensibility <sup>28</sup>.

The

<sup>27</sup> Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620. Diodor. & Plut. ubi supra.

<sup>28</sup> Xenoph. ibid. He observes; ὅτι κοινόν τι ἀπὸ χαρῆς καὶ λυπῆς, δακρυῖς εἶναι. "So common are tears to joy and sorrow."

CHAP. XXXI. The Spartans were prevented from reaping the full fruits of this victory, by a considerable reinforcement which the Arcadians soon afterwards received from Thebes. By the assistance of these troops, the Menalians and Parrhasians, who, from their situation on the southern frontier of Arcadia, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, found means to execute a design said to have been formerly suggested by Epaminondas. They abandoned twenty straggling and defenceless villages; and choosing an advantageous situation in the centre of their territory, erected a fortress there, which they surrounded with a strong wall. The benefit of security attracted new inhabitants; the walls were extended; the place acquired the magnificent name of Megalopolis<sup>29</sup>, the last city built by the Greeks, while they preserved the dignity of independent government<sup>30</sup>.

Revolutions in  
Theffaly.

The temporary success of the Spartans under Archidamus, which is generally ascribed to the valour of that commander, was principally occasioned by the withdrawing from Peloponnesus, at a very critical juncture, the numerous army of Thebes, which was at that time called northward, in order to take an important and honourable part in the affairs of Macedon and Theffaly. Since the atrocious murder of the heroic Jason, the latter kingdom had been afflicted by a continued train of crimes and disorders. Just gratitude and respect towards the memory of their generous and warlike chief, engaged the Theffalians to perpetuate the honours

<sup>29</sup> "The great city."

<sup>30</sup> I have melted together Pausanias in Boetic. and Diodorus, l. xv. p. 384, but followed the chronology of the latter.

nours of his family. He was succeeded by his brothers Polydore and Polyphron; of whom the latter, not being able to endure the restraint of a limited, much less of a divided rule, attained, by the assassination of his colleague, the sole dominion of Theffaly. His stern despotism was abolished by the hand of Alexander, who avenged the blood of his kinsman <sup>31</sup> Polydore, the only meritorious action of his life. For Alexander (as his character is represented to us) exceeded the cruelties of Polyphron, and of all the detested tyrants that have ever been condemned to the infamy of history. The Theffalians were delivered from such a monster by the domestic conspiracy of his wife Thebé, the daughter of Jason, and her brothers Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron; who governed with precarious sway, till the power and address of Philip destroyed their usurpation, and rendered their distracted country, which seemed incapable of freedom, a province of Macedonia. Such, in few words, were the revolutions of Theffaly; but the bloody reign of Alexander demands more particular attention, being connected with the general revolutions of Greece.

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A cautious reader will always receive with some distrust, the accounts transmitted by ancient republicans of the lives and actions of tyrants <sup>32</sup>. The popular histories of Alexander remind

<sup>31</sup> His brother, uncle, or father, according to different authors.

<sup>32</sup> The acceptation of the word tyrant in Greek history is well known. The Greeks called τυραννοι, "tyrants," those who had acquired sovereignty in states formerly republican. Theffaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. were governed, not by βασιλεις, but τυραννοι, "not by kings, but tyrants;" whereas Macedonia, which had never been subject to any species of popular government, was ruled, not by τυραννοι, but βασιλεις, "not by tyrants but kings."



**CHAP.** remind us of the fanciful descriptions of Busris  
**XXXI.** or Pygmalion. Yet it cannot be doubted that  
 the tyrant of Theffaly was cruel to his subjects,  
 perfidious to his allies, implacable to his ene-  
 mies, a robber by land, and a pirate at sea <sup>33</sup> :  
 but that it was his usual diversion to bury men  
 alive, to inclose them in the skins of wild beasts,  
 as a prey to ravenous dogs, to mutilate and  
 torture children in the presence of their pa-  
 rents <sup>34</sup>, can scarcely be reconciled with his  
 shedding tears for the imaginary sufferings of  
 Hecuba and Andromaché, during the represen-  
 tation of the Troades <sup>35</sup>. It is true, that he is  
 said to have been ashamed of this weakness, and  
 to have left the theatre with confusion ; but  
 what could have engaged a monster, such as  
 Alexander is described, to listen to the pathetic  
 strains of the tender Euripides ? What pleasure,  
 or what pain, could a tyger, thirsting for hu-  
 man blood, receive from such an entertain-  
 ment ? Although we abstract from his story  
 many incredible fictions, Alexander might well  
 deserve the resentment of the Theffalians. His  
 injured subjects took arms, and solicited the  
 protection of Thebes, whose justice or ambition  
 readily embraced their cause. As Epaminondas  
 still continued under the displeasure of his coun-  
 try, the Theban army was conducted by Pelo-  
 pidas and Ismenias. Their arrival struck terror  
 into the conscious breast of the tyrant, who,  
 without daring to trust his defence to the nu-  
 merous guards and mercenaries by whom his  
 usurpation was supported, implored the cle-  
 mency of the Theban generals, submitting  
 to

The af-  
 fairs of  
 Theffaly  
 settled by  
 Pelopidas.

<sup>33</sup> These are the words of Xenophon, p. 601.

<sup>34</sup> Plut. in Pelopid.

<sup>35</sup> Id. de Fort. Alexand.

to the most humiliating conditions which their wisdom might judge proper to exact for the future security of his subjects <sup>36</sup>. CHAP. XXXI.

This transaction was scarcely ended, when Pelopidas the Thebans, whose reputation and success rendered them the most proper mediators in the affairs of their neighbours, were invited into Macedon, which, since the death of Amyntas II. had been a prey, during six years, to all the calamities of a disputed succession. Amyntas left three legitimate sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son, Ptolemy, whose intrigues chiefly occasioned the disorders of the kingdom. He could not prevent the accession of Alexander to the throne, as that prince had attained the age of manhood at the time of his father's death. But he embittered and shortened his reign, which lasted only one year; after which Ptolemy assumed the reins of government, as guardian of the minority of Perdiccas, and protector of Macedon. It soon appeared, however, that his ambition would not rest satisfied with the borrowed power of a regent. He gained a considerable party to his interest, baffled the opposition of Perdiccas's partisans, and boldly usurped the sovereignty. The friends of that unfortunate prince had recourse to the justice and power of Thebes. Pelopidas entered Macedon at the head of his army; restored the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had banished; asserted the just rights of Perdiccas to the throne; and, after receiving hostages from the contending factions, among whom was Philip, the younger brother of Perdiccas, afterwards king of Macedon, and conqueror

<sup>36</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. xvii. & Plut. in Pelopid.

CHAP. queror of Greece, returned towards Theffaly,  
 XXXI. having finally re-established the tranquillity of  
 the neighbouring kingdom <sup>37</sup>.

Is treache-  
 rously seiz-  
 ed and im-  
 prisoned  
 by Alex-  
 ander, in  
 his jour-  
 ney  
 through  
 Theffaly.  
 Olymp.  
 ciii. 2.  
 A.C. 367.

In his journey through a country where he had so lately acted the part of a judge and master, it seemed as if little danger could reasonably be apprehended. Pelopidas had sent before him a considerable detachment of his army, to conduct the Macedonian hostages towards Thebes. With the remainder he marched securely through the territory of his Theffalian confederates, when he was informed that Alexander had come to meet him at the head of his mercenaries. Even this suspicious circumstance could not undeceive the sanguine credulity of the Theban chief. He imagined that the tyrant had taken this measure in order to shew him respect, and to justify himself against some recent complaints of his injured subjects. With an imprudence which all historians agree to condemn <sup>38</sup>, both Pelopidas and Ismenias threw themselves into the hands of a traitor, who gloried in despising laws human and divine. They were instantly seized by his order, carried to Pheræ, bound, imprisoned, and exposed to the insulting eyes of an invidious multitude.

Delivered  
 by Epami-  
 nondas.

It might be expected that the Theban soldiers should have been animated with indignation and rage at the unexampled treatment of their beloved

<sup>37</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. xvii. & Plut. in Pelopid.

<sup>38</sup> Besides Diodorus and Plutarch, the sage Polybius severely arraigns the imprudent confidence of Pelopidas. Polyb. Casaub. t. ii. p. 98. Polybius in that passage speaks of the expedition as an embassy. I have carefully compared the different writers, and adopted the account that seemed most probable and consistent.



loved chiefs. But their numbers were too small to contend with the Theſſalian mercenaries; and when a powerful reinforcement arrived from Bœotia, they fatally experienced, in the first encounters with the enemy, the absence of Pelopidas, and the degradation of his magnanimous friend. The army was reduced to the utmost difficulties, encompassed on every side, unwilling to fight, and unable to fly. The troops justly accused the inexperience of their commanders, remembering their glorious campaigns in the Peloponnesus, where they contended with far more formidable enemies. Epaminondas, who had commanded them on those memorable occasions, actually served in the ranks. The soldiers with one accord saluted him general. The singular abilities of this extraordinary man soon changed the posture of affairs; the tyrant was defeated in his turn, and compelled to retire. Epaminondas, instead of pushing him to extremity, which might have turned his desperate fury against the valuable lives of the Theban prisoners, hovered round with a victorious army, ostentatiously displayed the advantages of military skill and conduct; and while he kept Alexander in continual respect and fear, yet left him sufficient time for repentance and submission. This judicious plan of operations was attended with success. The tyrant implored peace; but he only received a truce of thirty days, on condition of restoring the persons of Pelopidas and Ismenias <sup>39</sup>.

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Those who love to find in history events extraordinary and romantic, would not easily excuse my omitting to mention the interview of Pelopidas, Interview of Pelopidas, during his confinement,

<sup>39</sup> Plut. in Pelipod. & Diodorus, *ibid.*

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with  
Thebé  
queen  
of Thef-  
faly.

Pelopidas, during his imprisonment, with the Theſſalian queen. The daughter of the heroic Jaſon united the beauty of the one ſex with the courage of the other, and was beloved by her huſband with ſuch love as a tyrant can feel, which is always corrupted by ſuſpicion. At her earneſt and repeated entreaties, Thebé was permitted to ſee, and converſe with, the Theban general, whoſe merit and fame ſhe had long admired. But his appearance did not answer her expectation. At beholding his neglected and ſquallid figure, ſhe was ſeized with an emotion of pity, and exclaimed, “How much Pelopidas, do I lament your wife and family.” “*You*, Thebé! are more to be lamented,” replied the Theban hero, “who, without being a priſoner, continue the voluntary ſlave of a perfidious and cruel tyrant.” The expreſſion is ſaid to have ſunk deep into the heart of the queen, who remembered the reproach of Pelopidas, when, ten years afterwards, ſhe ſupported the courage, and urged the hand, of the aſſaſſins of Alexander<sup>40</sup>. But this moral narrative, however ſtrongly authenticated, cannot be attentively read without occaſioning ſome degree of ſcepticiſm concerning the hiſtory of Alexander. Had he been the monſter which reſentment or credulity have taken pleaſure to delineate, who never entered the apartment of his wife without an armed attendant, who ſlept in a lofty inacceſſible tower, to which he mounted by a ladder, and which was guarded by a fierce dog<sup>41</sup>, it is incredible that he ſhould have

<sup>40</sup> Xenoph. p. 601.

<sup>41</sup> Cicero de Offic. l. 2. Plut. in Pelopid. But the ſtory, as related by Xenophon, is diveſted of ſuch improbable ſciſions; and Xenophon ſeems hardly to believe all that he relates. He ſays, λεγεται ὑπο τινος, —and repeats, that it was a hearſay, a few ſentences below.

have permitted an interview between a secret and open enemy. CHAP.  
XXXI.

Nor will it be easy to reconcile with the fierceness of the Theſſalian, another anecdote, which has probably been invented to diſplay the magnanimity of Pelopidas, but which diſplays ſtill more ſtrongly the patience of Alexander. Anecdote  
of Pelopi-  
das and  
Alexan-  
der. During the confinement of the former at Pheræ, the latter is ſaid to have exceeded his uſual cruelties towards the inhabitants of that city. Pelopidas conſoled their affliction, and encouraged them to hope for vengeance. He even ſent to reproach the abſurdity of the tyrant, in deſtroying daily ſo many innocent men, from whom he had nothing to fear, while he allowed an enemy to live, who would employ the firſt moment of freedom to puniſh his manifold enormities. “And is Pelopidas ſo deſirous to die?” was the answer of the Theſſalian. “Yes,” replied the priſoner, “that *you* may the ſooner periſh, having rendered yourſelf ſtill more obnoxious to gods and men <sup>42</sup>.” The reſentment of Pelopidas, if ever it was expreſſed, proved an empty boaſt; for immediately after his deliverance, the Theban army was, for very urgent reaſons, withdrawn from Theſſaly.

The Theban expedition in the north had allowed the Spartans, in ſome degree, to recover their influence in the ſouth of Greece. Archidamus had obtained a complete victory over the Arcadians, the braveſt and moſt powerful of the confederates. The crafty <sup>43</sup> Antalcidas, with Euthycles <sup>44</sup>, a Spartan of abilities and in-  
VOL. III. D trigue,

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch. *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Plut. in Artaxerx.

<sup>44</sup> Xenoph. Hellen.

Congreſs  
of Grecian  
deputies in  
Perſia.  
Olymp.  
ciii. 2.  
A. C. 367.



CHAP. XXXI. *trigue*, had been sent as ambassadors to Persia, in order to hasten the supplies of troops, or money, expected from that country. It was time for Thebes to assert her interest in the Peloponnesus, and to counteract the dangerous negotiations of her enemies with Artaxerxes. Epaminondas, whose recent and illustrious merit had silenced the unjust clamours of faction, was confirmed in his military command; and Pelopidas, whose unfortunate adventure in Theſſaly was ascribed less to his own imprudence than to the treachery of Alexander, was dispatched to the East, as the person best qualified to conduct a negotiation with the ministers of the great king. He was accompanied by the ambassadors of Elis, Argos, and Arcadia; those of Athens followed soon afterwards; so that there appeared, for the first time, a general congress of the Grecian states, to settle and adjust their interests at the court of a foreign prince. It might be expected, that a scene so new and interesting, should have excited the attention of historians; yet they have left us ignorant in what city of his dominions Artaxerxes received the Greeks. At their arrival, the king treated Antalcidas with that partial kindness due to an ancient guest and favourite; but at their public audience, the appearance, the fame, and the eloquence of Pelopidas, more majestic than that of Athens, more nervous than that of Sparta<sup>45</sup>, entitled him to a just preference, which the king, whose rank and temper alike disdained restraint, was at no pains to conceal.

The

<sup>45</sup> Plut. in Pelopid.

The Theban represented, that in the battle of Plataea, fought above a century ago, and ever since that memorable engagement, his countrymen had uniformly adhered to the interest of Persia, at the risk of losing whatever men hold most precious. That the dangerous war in which they were actually engaged, had been occasioned by their open and steady opposition to the measures of the Spartans, previous to their destructive invasions of Asia. The imperious pride of Agesilaus could never forget the affront offered to him at Aulis, when, in imitation of Agamemnon, he intended to offer sacrifice before his embarkation. He had begun hostilities without justice, and carried them on without success. The field of Leuctra had been alike fatal to the strength and glory of Sparta; nor would that ambitious republic have reason to boast of its recent success in Arcadia, if, at that unfortunate juncture, the Thebans had not been prevented, by reasons equally important and honourable, from assisting their Peloponnesian confederates." Timagoras the Athenian, guided by motives which ancient <sup>46</sup> history has

CHAP.  
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Representations  
of Pelopidas to the  
Persian  
monarch.

Behaviour  
of the  
other de-  
puties.

D 2

not

<sup>46</sup> The extraordinary behaviour of Timagoras deserves attention. He co-operated with the enemy of his country, and the ambassador of a state actually at war with it. We may guess his motives by his reward. He received from the king of Persia, at his departure, gold and silver, and other valuable presents, particularly a bed of curious construction, with Persian slaves to make it, the Greeks being little acquainted with that operation; and he was carried in a sedan to the sea-shore at the king's expence. Yet this man had the effrontery to return to Athens, and to appear in the public assembly. He knew the force of eloquence and intrigue over the capricious minds of his countrymen; he knew that the practice of receiving bribes was so usual, that the Athenians had lost the proper sense of its baseness. He perhaps remembered the pleasant proposal

CHAP. not condescended to explain, seconded, with  
 XXXI. vigour and address, the arguments of the illustrious Theban. In vain did Leon, the colleague of Timagoras, remonstrate against his perfidy. The other deputies were confounded by his impudence; and before they had time to express their astonishment and indignation, the king desired Pelopidas to explain the object of his commission, and the demand of his countrymen. The Theban replied, that he had been sent to propose and ratify a treaty between his republic and Persia, on conditions equally advantageous to both, since the carrying of them into execution would destroy the power of those states which had hitherto occasioned so much disturbance and danger to all their neighbours. His proposals were, that the Athenians should be commanded to lay up their fleet, and that the fertile country of Messenia should be declared totally independent of Sparta. If any opposition to the treaty were made by these powers, that war should be levied against them by Persia, Thebes, and their allies; and if the inferior cities of Greece declined to engage in so just a cause, that their obstinacy should be punished with an exemplary severity. The king approved these

proposal of Epicrates, that instead of nine Archons, the Athenians should annually elect nine ambassadors, chosen from the poorest citizens, who might return rich from Persia. Epicrates had acquired a very undue proportion of wealth by this infamous means, as we learn from an oration of Lysias. Yet the Athenians were less indignant at his guilt, than delighted with his humour. Timagoras, however, was not so fortunate; he was accused by his colleague Leon, and condemned to death, not, if we may credit Plutarch, because he had betrayed his trust, and accepted bribes, but because the Athenians were extremely displeased that Pelopidas had effected the object of his commission at the Persian court. Plut. in Pelopid.



these articles, which were immediately consigned CHAP. XXXI.  
 to writing, confirmed by the royal seal, and read aloud to the ambassadors. On hearing the clause which related to Athens, Leon exclaimed, with the freedom peculiar to his country, "The Athenians, it seems, must look out for some other ally instead of the king of Persia." After this daring threat, the ambassadors took leave, and returned to Greece with all possible expedition <sup>47</sup>.

Pelopidas was accompanied by a Persian of distinction, intrusted with the instrument containing the treaty. On his arrival in Thebes, the people were immediately assembled, and being acquainted with the happy fruits of his embassy, they commended his diligence and dexterity. Without losing a day, messengers were dispatched to demand the attendance of representatives from the Grecian states, whose interests were all alike concerned in the late important negotiation. It does not appear that either Athens or Sparta condescended to obey the summons. The convention, however, was very numerous. The Persian read the treaty, shewed the king's seal, and, in the name of his master, required the agreement to be ratified with the formality of oaths usually employed on such occasions. The representatives almost unanimously declared that they had been sent to hear, no to swear; and that before the treaty could be ratified by general consent, its conditions must be previously discussed in the particular assembly of each independent republic. Such was the firm, but moderate answer of the other deputies; but the high-spirited Lycomedes went farther

<sup>47</sup> Xenoph. p. 621, & seqq.

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farther than his colleagues. His friend and countryman, Antiochus, who had lately acted as the ambassador of Arcadia at the Persian court, returned disgusted by the contempt shewn towards his country by the great king, who hesitated not to prefer Elis to Arcadia. In giving an account of his embassy to the Ten thousand (the name usually bestowed on the Arcadians since the re-union of their tribes in Mantinæa and Megalopolis), he indulged himself in many contumelious expressions against Artaxerxes and his subjects, which were greedily listened to by the resentment and envy of his hearers. "Neither the wealth nor the power of the great king were so great in reality as flattery and falsehood represented them. The golden plane-tree, which had often been so ostentatiously described, could scarce afford shade to a grasshopper. He himself had been an attentive observer; yet all he could find in Persia was the idle retinue of vice and luxury, bakers, butlers, and cooks, a useless and servile train; but men fit to contend with the Greeks, he neither himself saw, nor thought it possible for others to discover." The proud disdain of Antiochus had been communicated entire to the breast of Lycomedes. He declared, that Arcadia needed not any alliance with the great king; and that were such a matter in agitation, Thebes would not be the proper place to determine it, since every convention tending to a general peace ought to be held in that country which had been the principal scene of war.

and by  
each re-  
public in  
particular.

The Theban magistrates discovered the mingled symptoms of disappointment, indignation, grief, and rage, they accused Lycomedes as a traitor

traitor to Thebes, and an enemy to his country; CHAP. XXXI.  
 but he despised their empty clamours, and, without deigning an answer, walked from the assembly, and was followed by all the deputies of Arcadia. Notwithstanding this severe mortification, the Thebans did not abandon the ambitious project at which they had long aimed. Nothing favourable, they perceived, could be expected in the general congress of the states, so that they allowed the assembly to break up without insisting farther on their demands. But at the distance of a short time, they renewed the same proposal to the several republics, beginning with Corinth, one of the weakest, yet most wealthy, in hopes that whatever opposition the overtures of the king of Persia, and their own, had found in the united strength and confidence of the assembled confederacy, few single states at least would venture to provoke the indignation of such powerful adversaries. But in this, too, they were disappointed. The Corinthians declined entering into any alliance with the king of Persia, and set his power at defiance. The magnanimous example was imitated by their neighbours; the secret practices of the Thebans were equally fruitless with their open declarations and demands.

Epaminondas encouraged his countrymen to acquire, by arms, that pre-eminence which they had vainly expected to obtain by negotiation. His renown, justly increased by the recent transactions in Theffaly, rendered his influence irresistible. He was again intrusted with the command of a powerful army, with which, for the third time he invaded the Peloponnesus. The Elians and Arcadians, though hostile to each other,

Epami-  
 nondas in-  
 vades the  
 Pelopon-  
 nesus.  
 Olymp.  
 ciii. 3.  
 A. C. 366.



## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

**C H A P.** other, were alike disposed for rebellion against  
**XXXI.** Thebes; but instead of marching into their territories, a measure which might have engaged them to settle their private differences, and to unite against the common enemy, Epaminondas endeavoured to quash their disaffection by the rapid conquest of Achaia, which, stretching along the Corinthian gulph, skirted the northern frontiers of Elis and Arcadia. From the nature of their government the Achæans usually enjoyed more tranquillity than their neighbours. They possessed not any great town, whose needy and turbulent inhabitants, seduced by popular demagogues, could rouse the whole province to arms and ambition. Towards the east and the isthmus of Corinth, the cities of Sicyon and Phlius had long been regarded as separate republics, unconnected with the general body of the Achæan nation. Ægium enjoyed the prerogative of constituting the usual place of convention for the states of Achaia; but Dymé, Tirtæa, and Pellené, scarcely yielded to Ægium in populousness and power, and seem, with several places of inferior note, to have formed so many separate and independent communities, all alike subject to the same equitable system of Achæan laws. Immediately before the Theban invasion the aristocracy had acquired an undue weight in the constitution of Achaia, so that the principal nobles and magistrates were no sooner informed of the approach of an enemy, than they flocked from all quarters of the province to meet Epaminondas, soliciting his favour and friendship, and little anxious about the independence of their country, provided they might preserve their personal privileges and private fortunes. The  
people

Compels  
the Achæ-  
ans to ac-  
cept the  
Theban  
alliance.

people perceiving themselves betrayed by those who ought to have been their protectors, abandoned all thoughts of resistance. Epaminondas accepted the submission of the magistrates, and received pledges of their engagement, that Achaia should thenceforth adhere to the interest of Thebes, and follow the standard of that republic <sup>48</sup>.

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This conquest, which was effected without striking a blow, and without producing any internal revolution of government, was destructive and bloody in its consequences. Epaminondas, for reasons not sufficiently explained, returned with his army to Thebes; but before he arrived there, various complaints against his conduct had been made in the Theban assembly. The Arcadians and Argives complained that a people, who knew by their own recent experience the inconveniencies of aristocracy, should have confirmed that severe form of government in a dependent province. The democratic faction in Achaia secretly sent emissaries to second the complaint. The enemies of Epaminondas seized the favourable opportunity of accusing and calumniating that illustrious commander, and the capricious multitude were persuaded to condemn his proceedings, and to send commissioners into Achaia, who, with the assistance of the populace, as well as of a considerable body of mercenaries, dissolved the aristocracy, banished or put to death the nobles, and instituted a democratic form of policy. The foreign troops had scarcely left that country, when the exiles, who were extremely numerous and powerful, returned with common consent, and,

Revolutions in  
Achaia.

<sup>48</sup> Xenoph. p. 622.

C H A P. and, after a bloody and desperate struggle, re-  
 XXXI. covered their ancient influence in their respective cities. The leaders of the populace were now, in their turn, put to death or expelled; the aristocracy was re-established; and the magistrates, knowing that it was dangerous to depend on the unsteady politics of Thebes, craved the protection of Sparta, which was readily granted them. The Achæans approved their gratitude by ravaging the northern, while the Lacedæmonians infested the southern frontier of Arcadia; and that unhappy province felt and regretted the inconvenience of its situation between two implacable enemies <sup>49</sup>.

Euphron  
 usurps the  
 govern-  
 ment of  
 Sicyon.  
 Olymp.  
 ciii. 3.  
 A. C. 366.

Sicyon, though governed by the Achæan laws, did not follow, on this occasion, the example of its neighbours. That unfortunate city, which had long been the seat of luxury and the arts, was reserved for peculiar calamities. Euphron, a bold, crafty, and ambitious demagogue, having already acquired great credit with the Lacedæmonians, was desirous of obtaining equal consideration among the enemies of that people, hoping, by so many foreign connexions, to render himself absolute master of his little republic. For this purpose he secretly reminded the Arcadians and Argives, that "Sicyon, having the same laws and government, would naturally embrace the same alliance with the neighbouring cities; but the danger of this event he would undertake to remove, with very slender assistance from Argos and Arcadia." The admonition was not lost; a body of armed men arrived at Sicyon; Euphron assembled the people; the govern-  
 ment

<sup>49</sup> Xenoph. p. 623.



ment was changed; new magistrates were appointed, and Euphron was entrusted with the command of the national force, consisting chiefly of mercenaries. Having obtained this, he obtained all. By caresses, bribes, and flattery, the troops were gained over to his party, and became attached to his person. His colleagues in the government were removed by secret treachery or open violence. His private enemies were held the enemies of the state, accused, condemned, and banished; and their confiscated estates augmented the wealth of Euphron, whose rapacity knew no bounds, sparing neither the property of individuals nor the public treasury, nor the consecrated gold and silver which adorned the temples of Sicyon. The sums amassed by such impious means enabled him to confirm his usurpation. He augmented the number of his mercenary guards, who, while they oppressed the republic, were useful auxiliaries to the Argives and Arcadians. Whatever these nations thought proper to command, the soldiers of Euphron were ready to obey; and partly by this alacrity in their service, partly by bribing <sup>so</sup> the principal men in Argos and Arcadia, the crafty tyrant expected to prevent those neighbouring communities from interfering in the domestic affairs of Sicyon.

Such was the venality and corruption of the Greeks, that this detestable policy was attended with success, until Æneas, the Stymphalian, obtained the command of the Arcadians. This man, availing himself of the vicinity of Sicyon to Stymphalus, the place of his birth and residence, had formed a connexion with the oppressed

His usurpation overturned by Æneas, the Stymphalian.

<sup>so</sup> Τα μὲν τοὶ καὶ χρηρῶσι διαπραττετο. Xenoph. p. 624.

CHAP. pressed citizens of the former. Æneas, per-  
 XXXI. haps, had not sufficiently shared the largesses  
 of Euphron; perhaps the humanity of his nature<sup>51</sup> lamented the sufferings of the Sicyonians. Whatever was his motive, it is certain that he endeavoured to expel their tyrant, and to restore their liberty.

Euphron  
 is assassi-  
 nated at  
 Thebes.

Euphron, however, had the dexterity to engage successively in his favour the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Thebans. He spared neither pains, nor promises, nor bribes. He was commonly his own ambassador; and his activity and abilities must have risen far above the ordinary pitch, to engage the principal states of Greece, one after another, to support, in direct opposition to their principles, the tyranny of a single man. Insurrections at home, and hostilities from abroad, at length occasioned his downfall. He escaped to Thebes with the greatest part of his treasure. His enemies sent proper persons to counteract his intrigues there. The money, however, and the address of Euphron, prevailed with the Theban magistrates, and he expected to be restored in triumph by the Thebans, as he had already been by the Athenians. But the Sicyonians, who followed him to Thebes, perceiving his familiarity<sup>52</sup> with the principal men of that city, had recourse to the only expedient that seemed capable of frustrating his designs, and assassinated Euphron in the Cadmæa, while the Theban archons and senators

<sup>51</sup> Xenophon seems to approve this reason. He says Æneas, the Stymphalian, νομιστὸς ἢ ἀνέκτατος ἔχει τὰ ἐν οἰκίᾳ. "Thinking the grievances of the Sicyonians intolerable."

<sup>52</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύον αὐτὸν οἰκίᾳ τοῖς ἀρχαῖσι συνενταί. Xenoph. p. 630.

senators were assembled within the walls of that edifice <sup>CHAP. XXXI.</sup> 53.

The murderers were seized, and the atrocity, as well as the indignity of their crime, was strongly represented to the senate by one of the archons, who probably regretted the death of Euphron, as the loss of a wealthy client. The criminals denied the fact, till one, bolder than the rest, not only avowed but justified the assassination as equally lawful, advantageous, and honourable. And so little horror do men feel at crimes which prevail in their own age, and with which their fancies are familiar, that the assassins were unanimously acquitted by the Theban senate, whose award was approved by the assembly 54.

This action publicly justified.

Meanwhile the war languished on both sides, and the hostile confederacies were on the point of being dissolved. The Athenians and Arcadians, equally disgusted with their respective allies, concluded a treaty of peace and mutual defence, by the intervention of Lycomedes, the Mantinean, who was slain in his return from Athens by a party of Arcadian exiles. This negotiation gave general alarm; the Arcadians, who had entered into treaty with Athens were the allies of Thebes; and the united strength of these three republics was at that time sufficient to subdue and enslave the rest of Greece. The terror was increased when it appeared that the Athenians had little inclination to evacuate several places in the Corinthian territory which they had undertaken to defend against the Arcadians and Thebans. By seasonable vigilance the

The allies of Sparta ask permission of that republic to negotiate a peace with Thebes. Olymp. ciii. 3. A.C. 366.

<sup>53</sup> Xenoph. l. vii. p. 630.

<sup>54</sup> Xenoph. l. vii. p. 631. & seqq.



CHAP. the Corinthians anticipated a design, too unjust  
 XXXI. to be publicly avowed; they cautiously dissem-  
 bled their fears; graciously thanked Chares,  
 who had arrived with an Athenian fleet on pre-  
 tence of offering them his service, but took care  
 not to admit him within their harbours; and by  
 extreme kindness and condescension, accompa-  
 nied with warm professions of gratitude for the  
 protection hitherto afforded them, they got rid  
 of the foreign garrisons, without coming to an  
 open rupture with the Athenians. But the nar-  
 row escape which they had made, and the dread  
 of being exposed in future to any similar dan-  
 ger, made them extremely solicitous to promote  
 a general peace on the terms proposed by Artax-  
 erxes and the Thebans. Motives of the same  
 kind influenced the cities of Achaia, and the lit-  
 tle republic of Phlius, which, together with Co-  
 rinth, were the only allies that remained faith-  
 ful to Sparta. A similarity of interests occa-  
 sioned a close communication of views and  
 measures among all those communities; who  
 agreed, by common consent, to dispatch an em-  
 bassy to Sparta, requesting that she would ac-  
 cept the conditions of peace lately offered by  
 Thebes, or if she thought it inconsistent with  
 honour to cede her just pretensions to Messenê,  
 that she would allow her faithful but helpless al-  
 lies to enter into a separate negociation with the  
 Theban republic.

Reasona- The reasonableness, and even modesty, of this  
 bleness of request, must have been apparent to the Spar-  
 this de- tans, when they reflected on the useful services  
 mand. of the allies, and considered how much they  
 had already suffered in their cause. The Phlia-  
 sians, in particular, had, during five years,  
 given

given such illustrious proofs of their unshaken adherence to Sparta, as stand unrivalled in the history of national honour and fidelity. Situated in the midst of enemies, they had continually, since the battle of Leuctra, suffered the invasions and assaults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and Argives. Their territory was totally wasted; their city closely besieged; their citadel, more than once, surprised and taken; their wealth, public and private, was exhausted, and they subsisted precariously on provisions brought from Corinth, for the payment of which they had pledged their beasts of burden and instruments of agriculture. Yet, under the pressure of these multiplied calamities, they had preserved their fidelity inviolate; they had disdained to accept the peace which the Thebans offered them on condition of their forsaking Sparta; even, at last, they were determined to negotiate with Thebes for neutrality alone; nor had they humbly solicited permission to embrace this measure, until Corinth, the only source of their subsistence, seemed ready to forsake them <sup>55</sup>.

The strength of such arguments urged by the eloquence of Patrocles, the Phliasian, might have softened, if any thing could have softened, the inflexible temper of the Spartan senate, and disposed that assembly to prefer the interest of their allies, and their own immediate safety, to the insisting on a fruitless claim to Messenë, which unaided and alone, they could never expect to maintain. But the pretensions of this extraordinary people seem to have become more lofty, in proportion to their inability to support them;

The Spartans deliberate on that subject.

<sup>55</sup> Xenoph. 624. & 634.

CHAP. them; and, on that particular occasion, the  
 XXXI. proud obstinacy, natural to the Spartans, was  
 increased by an animated speech of Archidamus,  
 full of the most confident hopes, and glowing  
 with all the warmth of his age and character.

Speech of  
 Archida-  
 mus.

He spoke with contempt concerning the defection of the confederates. "The Phliasi-ans, the inhabitants of Corinth and Achaia, may, without exciting surprise, express an anxiety for peace; safety, not glory, is their aim. But the Spartans have a character to sustain, which it would be infamous to relinquish. They expect not barely to exist, but to enjoy fame and honour, the true sweeteners of existence; and, if that be impossible, they must perish! Yet is not their situation desperate: A nation cannot be reduced to any condition of distress, in which a warlike genius, and a well-regulated government, may not afford relief. But in military experience and abilities, we are still unrivalled; and such a system of policy as we enjoy, no other people can boast. We enjoy, besides, temperate and laborious habits, the contempt of pleasure and wealth, an ardour for martial glory, and an ambition of honest fame. These are powerful auxiliaries, when protected by the immortal gods, whose oracles anciently approved our just conquest of Messen . Nor, though the Corinthians and Ach ans forsake us, shall we be destitute of warlike allies. The Athenians, ever jealous of Thebes, their most formidable neighbour, will again take arms in our cause. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, gives us hope of farther assistance; the king of Egypt, and many princes of Asia, declared enemies of Artaxerxes, are all naturally our friends. We possess,



possess, besides, though not the persons and CHAP. actual service, the hearts and affections at least, XXXI. of whatever is most eminent in Greece. In all the republics, whoever is distinguished by his fame, his wealth, or his virtues, though he may not accompany our standard, secretly wishes success to our arms. I am of opinion, too, that the crowd <sup>56</sup> of Peloponnesus, that mob on which we at first too vainly relied, will at length return to their duty. They have obtained none of those advantages, the vain prospect of which urged them to revolt. Instead of acquiring the independent government of their own laws, they have fallen a prey to lawless anarchy, or been subjected to the inhuman cruelty of tyrants. The bloody seditions, of which they once knew the nature by report only, they have long experienced; and there are actually more exiles from particular cities, than were formerly from all Peloponnesus. But even banishment is happiness to those who, while they remained at home, butchered each other at the altars; and who, instead of that peaceful abundance which they enjoyed under the Spartan government, perished for want of bread. Such is the condition of the Peloponnesians, whose lands have been laid waste, their cities desolated, and that constitution and those laws, under which they once lived the happiest of men, overturned from the foundation. We might subdue them by force; but that is not necessary; they will voluntarily return to their allegiance, and solicit our protection, as alone capable to alleviate their misery, and prevent their total ruin.

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“ But

<sup>56</sup> Οχλος. Isocrat. in Archid. He means the Arcadians, Elians, &c. formerly allies of Sparta.

CHAP.  
XXXI.

“ But had we nothing of this kind to expect, and were the one half of Greece not more disposed to injure us, than the other to abet their injustice, I have still one resolution to propose, harsh indeed and severe, but becoming those sentiments which have ever animated the Spartans. Prosperity, that conceals the infamy of cowardice, robs fortitude of half its glory. It is adversity alone that can display the full lustre of a firm and manly character. I propose, therefore, that rather than cede a territory, which your ancestors acquired by the blood and labour of twenty victorious campaigns, you should remove from Sparta your wives, children, and parents, who will be received with kindness in Italy, Sicily, Cyrené, and many parts of Asia. Those who are fit to bear arms must also leave the city, and carry nothing from thence that may not easily be transported. They must, then, fix on some post well fortified by nature, and which art may render secure against every hostile assault. This, thenceforth, must be their city and country; and from this, as a centre, they must on all sides infest the enemy, until either the Thebans remit their arrogance, or the last of the Spartans perish <sup>57</sup>. ”

The Spartans determine to persevere in the war.

The speech of Archidamus expressed the general sense of his country. The allies were dismissed with permission to act as best suited their convenience, but with assurance that Sparta would never listen to any terms of accommodation while deprived of Messené. With this answer the ambassadors returned to their respective cities. Soon afterwards they were dispatched to Thebes, where, having proposed their

<sup>57</sup> Isocrat. in Archidam.

their demands, they were offered admission into CHAP. the Theban confederacy. They answered, that XXXI. this was not peace, but only a change of the war; and at length, after various propositions and reasonings, they obtained the much desired neutrality <sup>58</sup>.

The Spartans, thus deserted on every side, Ambitious would probably have been the victims of their views of pride and obstinacy, if circumstances, unfore- Epami- seen by Archidamus, had not prevented the nondas Thebans and Arcadians from carrying on the and the war with their usual animosity. Projects of Thebans. glory and ambition had disarmed the resentment Olymp. of Epaminondas. That active and enterprising civ. 1. leader, who thought that nothing was done, A. C. 364. while any thing was neglected, had set himself to render Thebes mistress of the sea. The attention and labour of the republic was directed to this important object; preparations were made at Aulis with silence and celerity; and when the design seemed ripe for execution, Epaminondas sailed to Rhodes, Chios and Byzantium, to concert measures with those maritime states, which had already begun to feel the severe yoke of the Athenians, and become eager to shake it off. But the vigilance of the Discon- latter, who had sent out a strong fleet under certed by Laches, a commander of reputation and ability, the activi- prevented the dangerous consequences of this ty of defection; and the Theban arms were, at the Athens. same time, summoned to a service, which more immediately concerned their interest and honour.

E 2

Alexander,

<sup>58</sup> Xenoph. ubi supra.



CHAP. Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began once  
 XXXI. more to display the resources of his fertile ge-  
 { nius, and the inhuman cruelty of his temper.  
 Last expe- His numerous mercenaries, whom he collected  
 dition of Pelopidas and kept together with singular address, and  
 into Thef- the secret assistance of Athens, enabled him to  
 faly. over-run the whole territory, and to gain pos-  
 Olymp. session of all the principal cities, of Theffaly 59.  
 civ. 1. The oppressed Theffalians had recourse to  
 A.C. 364. Thebes, whose powerful protection they had so  
 happily experienced on former occasions, and  
 whose standard they had uniformly followed,  
 with an alacrity which afforded a sufficient  
 pledge of their gratitude. The Thebans decreed  
 to assist them with ten thousand men, and the  
 command was entrusted to Pelopidas, the per-  
 sonal enemy of Alexander. But the day ap-  
 pointed for the march was darkened by an  
 eclipse of the sun, which greatly diminished the  
 army, as Pelopidas was unwilling to exact the  
 reluctant services of men dispirited by the ima-  
 ginary terrors of superstition. Such only as  
 despising vain omens, desired to follow their be-  
 loved general, were conducted into Theffaly ;  
 and being joined by their allies in that country  
 near the town of Pharfalus, they encamped at  
 the foot of the mountains of Cynoscephalæ.

He is slain The tyrant approached with an army twenty  
 in the bat- thousand strong, boldly offering them battle.  
 tle of Cy- Nor did Pelopidas decline the engagement,  
 noscepha- though his foot were, in number, inferior to  
 læ. the enemy. The action began with the cavalry,  
 and was favourable to the Thebans ; but the  
 mercenaries of Alexander having gained the ad-  
 vantage of the ground, pressed with vigour the  
 Theban

Theban and Theſſalian infantry. In this emer-  
 gency, Pelopidas rode up, and encouraging  
 the retiring troops with his voice and action,  
 gave them ſuch freſh ſpirits, that Alexander did  
 not doubt their having received a conſiderable  
 reinforcement. The mercenaries were preſſed  
 in their turn, and thrown into diſorder. Pelo-  
 pidas darting his eye through their broken ranks,  
 eſpied Alexander in the right wing rallying his  
 men, and preparing to advance with his uſual  
 intrepidity. At this fight the Theban was no  
 longer maſter of his paſſion. Naturally a foe  
 to tyrants, he beheld a perſonal foe in the ty-  
 rant Alexander. Accompanied by a few horſe-  
 men, he impetuoſly ruſhed forward, calling  
 aloud to his adverſary, and challenging him to  
 ſingle combat. Alexander, fearing to meet the  
 man whom he had injured, retired behind his  
 guards, who received, firſt with a ſhower of  
 javelins, and then with their ſpears, the little  
 band of Pelopidas; who, after producing ſuch  
 carnage <sup>60</sup> as Homer aſcribes to the rage of  
 Diomed or Achilles, fell a victim to the blind-  
 neſs of his own ungovernable fury. Mean-  
 while, his troops advancing to the relief of their  
 general, the guards of the tyrant were repelled;  
 the Thebans, with their allies, proved victorious  
 in every part of the battle; the enemy were  
 diſperſed in flight, and purſued with the loſs of  
 three thouſand men.

But

<sup>60</sup> Diodorus ſays, that the bodies of thoſe whom he ſlew  
 covered a long tract of ground. Plutarch is equally hyper-  
 bolic. The batties of Homer rendered the marvellous in  
 military deſcription too familiar to the Greek hiſtorians, I  
 mean, Diodorus, Plutarch, Pausanias; Thucydides and Xe-  
 nophon knew their duty better.

CHAP.

XXXI.

Honours  
paid to his  
memory.

The ty-  
rant strip-  
ped of all  
his con-  
quests.

The The-  
bans de-  
molish Or-  
chome-  
nus.

But the death of Pelopidas threw a gloom over the victory. He was lamented by the Thebans and Theffalians with immoderate demonstrations of sorrow. Accompanied by an innumerable crowd of real mourners, his body was carried in procession to Thebes. The Theffalians, in whose service he had fallen, requested the honour of supplying the expences of his funeral, which was celebrated with every circumstance of sad magnificence. The multitude recollected the eclipse which preceded his departure, and which, as they believed, announced his misfortune; and, in allusion to that fatal omen, exclaimed, "that the sun of Thebes was set, and her glory departed for ever." The Thebans appointed Malcitas and Diogeiton to the command in Theffaly. The tyrant was again defeated, and stripped of all his conquests. But what appears extraordinary, he was allowed to live and reign in Pheræ<sup>61</sup>, while the neighbouring cities entered into a close alliance with Thebes.

The foreign expeditions which have been described, were not the only causes that diverted the attention of the Thebans from the affairs of Peloponnesus. While Epaminondas was employed abroad in the fleet, and Pelopidas in Theffaly, the government of Thebes was on the point of being overturned by an aristocratical faction. The inhabitants of Orchomenus, the second city in Bœotia, and anciently the rival of Thebes<sup>62</sup>, entered into this conspiracy, which was to be executed at the annual review of the Orchomenian troops. But the plot was discovered

<sup>61</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. 20.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias Bœotic.



covered by the fears or the repentance of some accomplices, who became informers. The cavalry of Orchomenus, to the number of three hundred, were surrounded and cut to pieces in the Theban market-place. Nor did this vengeance satisfy the enraged multitude, who marched in a body to Orchomenus, besieged and took the city, rased it to the ground, put the men of full age to the sword, and dragged their wives and children into captivity <sup>63</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXXI.

While operations, destructive or fruitless, employed the activity of Thebes, her allies in Arcadia were occupied with designs still more blameable. Their own strength and numbers, together with a confidence in Athens, their new confederate, encouraged the Arcadians to give full scope to their ambition, by which they had been long animated. To pave the way for the total conquest of the Peloponnesus, in which they had already obtained a dangerous ascendant, they began by wresting several places from the Elians, the least warlike, and most wealthy, of their neighbours. The Elians, worsted in every encounter with the enemy, craved the assistance of Sparta, which being reinforced by the Achæans (notwithstanding the neutrality so recently stipulated), made several vigorous, but unsuccessful efforts, for the defence of the Elian territory. The Arcadians still pushed their conquests in that country, gaining one town after another, and at length Olympia itself, the most precious jewel of the Elians, and the greatest ornament of the Peloponnesus. As possessors of the sacred city, and by virtue of a pretended right

The Arcadians seize Olympia, and prepare to celebrate the games. Olym. civ. i. A.C. 364.

<sup>63</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. 20.

CHAP. right derived from the inhabitants of Pisa, an  
 XXXI. ancient but decayed place in the neighbourhood  
 of Olympia, the Arcadians prepared to celebrate the hundred and fourth Olympiad, the time of which was at hand. At the approach of this august solemnity, the concourse, as usual, was great from every part of Greece; hostilities were suspended; and all parties united in common amusements, and common ceremonies of religion.

Which  
 are inter-  
 rupted by  
 the arrival  
 of the  
 Elians in  
 arms.

The prayers and sacrifices were performed, and the military games had begun, when the performers and spectators were alarmed by the sudden clashing of armour, and the sight of a *real* battle. The Elians had marched forth with their whole forces, and surprised the Arcadians, who, with two thousand Argives, and a body of Athenian cavalry amounting to four hundred, guarded the sacred groves and temples of Olympia. The vigour of their unexpected assault successively repelled these intruders, who fled in disorder through the streets, and were pursued by the Elians with an *inspired* valour, "since," says Xenophon, "Heaven alone can do, in one day, what no other power can accomplish but in great length of time; make cowards courageous<sup>64</sup>." The Arcadians, however, recovering from their consternation, began to rally. The assailants were resisted with obstinacy; but did not retire, till having lost Stratolas their commander, with other brave men, they retreated in good order, after giving a conspicuous proof of their courage and intrepidity to those

<sup>64</sup> Τοιῶτοι γινόμενοι οἷος τὴν αἰετὴν θεὸς μὲν αὖ ἐμπνεύσας δύναται καὶ ἐν ἡμετέροις ἀποδιδῆναι· ἄνθρωποι γὰρ αὖ ἐν πολλῇ χρωίᾳ τῆς μὴ οὐκ ἀλκιμῆς ποιήσιον. P. 639.

those who had long despised the softness of their CHAP. unwarlike character. The Arcadians renewed XXXI. the guard with double vigilance; fortified the avenues that led to the Stadium and Hippodrome; and having taken these necessary precautions against a second surprise, proceeded with the remaining ceremonies of the festival, which, though brought to an undisturbed conclusion, was never acknowledged in the records of the Elians <sup>65</sup>.

After celebrating the Olympic games, the mixed concourse of people returned to their respective homes, and the Arcadians found themselves sole masters of the city and temple of Jupiter, containing the collected treasures of many centuries, the rich gifts of vanity and superstition. Opportunity, joined to want, is naturally the mother of injustice. The Arcadians, who, to promote their ambitious designs, had raised a body of standing troops called Eparittoi, laid hold of the sacred treasure, in order to pay those mercenaries, whose demands they were otherwise incapable of satisfying, without great inconvenience. The Mantinæans first protested against this unwarrantable rapacity. Instead of accepting their proportion of the plunder, they imposed, for the payment of the mercenaries, a tax on themselves, of which they transmitted the produce to the archons, or magistrates, appointed by the Ten Thousand to administer the general concerns of the Arcadian nation. The archons, who had themselves freely handled the sacred money, represented to their constituents the affected delicacy of the Mantinæans as an obstinacy

The Arcadians seize the Olympic treasure.

The Mantinæans protest against this impiety.

<sup>65</sup> Xenoph. l. vii. p. 638, & seqq. & Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.



CHAP. obstinacy extremely dangerous to the states of  
 XXXI. Arcadia, and insinuated that this unseasonable  
 regard for justice and piety most probably concealed some very criminal design.

The  
 States-General of  
 Arcadia approve  
 the resolution of  
 the Mantinæans ;

The Ten Thousand, or, as we should say, the States-General, listened to this insidious accusation ; and summoned the municipal magistrates of Mantinæa, to appear and answer for their conduct. They refused to obey ; a detachment of the Eparittoi was sent to bring them by force ; the Mantinæans shut their gates. This firmness roused the attention of the States ; and many members of weight in that assembly began to suspect that the Mantinæans must possess some secret ground of confidence, that encouraged them to set at defiance an authority which they were bound to revere. They reflected first on the alarming consequences to which Arcadia might be exposed by plundering the shrines of Jupiter ; and then on the injustice and impiety of the deed itself. These sentiments, enforced by the superstition of the age, spread with rapidity in the assembly ; it was determined thenceforth to abstain from a consecrated fund, the violation of which might prove dangerous to themselves, and entail a curse on their posterity ; and, to prevent the bad consequences of the desertion of the Eparittoi, whose pay must thereby be diminished, many wealthy Arcadians, who could subsist on their private incomes, enrolled themselves in their stead.

and re-  
 store O-  
 lympia to  
 the Eli-  
 ans.

These measures, though approved by the States, gave great uneasiness to the archons, to the mercenaries, and to all who had shared the Olympic spoil, lest they might be called to account for their rapacity, and compelled to refund

fund the sums which they had embezzled. To prevent this danger, they had recourse to the Thebans, from whom they requested immediate assistance, on pretence that the States of Arcadia were ready to revolt to Sparta. The States, on the other hand, sent an embassy requesting the Thebans not to pass the Isthmus, until they should receive farther invitation. Nor were they satisfied with barely counteracting the negotiations of their enemies. Having determined not to derive any benefit from the wealth of Olympia, they thought proper to restore that city, as well as the direction of the games, to those who had, from time immemorial, enjoyed both, and to conclude a peace with the Elians, who solicited it with much earnestness, as a measure highly conducive to the general interest of the Peloponnesus.

The congress, assembled for this beneficial purpose, was held at Tegea, and consisted of deputies from Elis, and from many cities of Arcadia. When matters were seemingly adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, entertainments, as usual, were prepared; and the deputies, except those of Mantinæa, most of whom were invited home by the vicinity of their city, remained at Tegea to celebrate the feast of peace. While they were employed in drinking and merriment, the archons, and such others as dreaded the consequences of this hasty accommodation, addressed themselves to a Theban general, who commanded a considerable body of Bœotian troops that had long garrisoned Tegea, in order to secure the fidelity of that place and the adjacent territory. The Theban had himself made free with the sacred treasure, and was therefore

CHAP.  
XXXI.

Those who had embezzled the Olympic treasure seize their opponents by assistance of the Thebans.

CHAP. therefore easily prevailed on to embrace any  
 XXXI. measure that might prevent an inquiry into that enormous crime. Nothing appeared so proper for this purpose as to seize and detain the unsuspecting deputies, who consisted of the leading men from most cities of Arcadia. This scheme was no sooner proposed, than carried into execution. The gates of Tegea were secured; a body of armed men surrounded the place of entertainment; the deputies, who had prolonged to a late hour the joys of festivity, were taken unprepared, and conducted to various places of confinement, their number being too great for one prison to contain <sup>66</sup>.

The prisoners set at liberty.

Next day, the Mantinæans, being apprised of this unexpected event, dispatched messengers, demanding some few of their citizens who happened to remain at Tegea, after the departure of their companions; and at the same time acquainting the magistrates of that place, the archons, and the Theban general, that no Arcadian could be put to death without a fair and open trial. They, likewise, without loss of time, dispatched an embassy to the several cities of Arcadia, rousing them to arms in their own defence, and exhorting them to rescue their imprisoned citizens, and to avenge the insult offered to the general body of their nation. When those who had committed the outrage, and especially the Theban general, were acquainted with the vigour of these proceedings, they began to be more alarmed than before. As they had seized but few Mantinæans, they could derive little advantage from the hostages of that city, whose resentment they had most reason to fear.

<sup>66</sup> Xenoph. p. 640.



fear. They were sensible of deserving the indignation of Arcadia ; and that the general voice of Greece must condemn the irregularity and violence of their measures. Intimidated by such reflections, the Theban commander at once set the prisoners at liberty ; and appearing next day before an assembly as numerous as could be collected in such troublesome times, endeavoured to excuse his conduct, by saying, that he had heard of the march of the Lacedæmonian army towards the frontier, and that several of the deputies, whom he had seized, were prepared to betray Tegea to the public enemy. The Arcadians were not the dupes of this shallow artifice ; yet they abstained from punishing their own wrongs, and sent ambassadors to Thebes, who might describe the injury that had been committed, and impeach the criminals<sup>67</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXXI.

Upon hearing the accusation, Epaminondas, who was then general of the Bœotians, declared that his countrymen had done better in seizing, than in discharging the Arcadians, whose conduct was highly blameable in making peace without the advice of their confederates. “ Be assured,” continued he to the ambassadors, “ that the Thebans will march into Arcadia, and support their friends in that province.” This resolution, which expressed the general sense of the republic, was heard with great indignation by the Arcadian states, and their allies of Elis and Achaia. They observed, that the Thebans could not have felt, much less have expressed, any displeasure at the Peace of Peloponnesus, if they had not deemed it their interest to perpetuate the divisions and hostilities of a country

Epami-  
nondas  
prepares  
to march  
into the  
Pelopon-  
nesus, at  
head of  
the Bœoti-  
ans and  
their con-  
federates.  
Olym.  
civ 2.  
A.C. 363.

<sup>67</sup> Xenoph. p. 641.

CHAP. country which they wished to weaken and to  
 XXXI. subdue. They entered into a stricter alliance  
 with each other, and prepared for a vigorous  
 defence; sending ambassadors to Athens and  
 Sparta, that the former might be ready to  
 thwart the measures of a neighbouring and rival  
 state, and that the latter might take arms to  
 maintain the independence of that portion of  
 Greece, of which the valour of Sparta had long  
 formed the strength and bulwark.

His last  
 expedition  
 into that  
 country.  
 Olym.  
 civ. 2.  
 A.C. 363.

During these hostile preparations, Epami-  
 nondas took the field with *all* the Bœotians,  
 with the Eubœans, and with a strong body of  
 Theſſalians, partly ſupplied by Alexander, and  
 partly raiſed by the cities which Pelopidas had  
 recently delivered from the yoke of that cruel  
 tyrant. Upon his arrival in the Peloponneſus,  
 he expected to be joined by the Argives, the  
 Meſſenians, and ſeveral communities of Arca-  
 dia, particularly the inhabitants of Tegea and  
 Megalopolis. With theſe hopes he proceed-  
 ed ſouthward to Nemea, an ancient city in the  
 Argive territory, diſtinguiſhed by the games  
 celebrated in honour of Hercules. There he  
 encamped for ſeveral days, with an intention to  
 intercept the Athenians, whoſe neareſt route  
 into Peloponneſus lay through the diſtrict of  
 Nemea; convinced that nothing could more  
 contribute, than an advantage over that people  
 in the beginning of the campaign, to animate  
 the courage, as well as to increaſe the number  
 of the Theban partiſans in every part of Greece.  
 But this ſcheme was defeated by the prudence  
 of the Athenians, who, inſtead of marching  
 through the Iſthmus, failed to the coaſt of La-  
 conia, and proceeded from thence to join their  
 confederates

confederates at Mantinæa. Apprised of this design Epaminondas moved his camp, and marched forward to Tegea, which being strongly fortified, and enjoying a lofty and central situation, was judiciously chosen as the place of rendezvous for his Peloponnesian confederates. Having continued several weeks at Tegea, he was much disappointed that none of the neighbouring towns sent to offer their submission, and to solicit the protection of the Theban arms. This waste of time gave him the more uneasiness, as his command was limited to a short term. The strength of the enemy at Mantinæa was continually increasing. Agesilaus had already conducted the Lacedæmonians to the frontier of Arcadia. If *they* likewise should join, the combined forces would prove superior to the army of Epaminondas, which amounted to thirty thousand in number, and of which the cavalry alone exceeded three thousand. Considering these circumstances, he suddenly determined on an enterprise, which, if crowned with success, would render the present hitherto fruitless expedition not unworthy of his former fame.

C H A P.  
XXXI.

Having decamped with his whole army in the night, he performed a hasty march of thirty miles, in order to surprise Sparta; and had not the extraordinary swiftness of a Cretan deserter apprised Agesilaus of the danger, that city would have been taken unprepared, and totally incapable of defence<sup>68</sup>. The bulk of the Lacedæmonian army had proceeded too far on the road

Fails in  
his at-  
tempt to  
surprise  
Sparta;

<sup>68</sup> Xenophon says, ὅτι περὶ νύκτας πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐβόρυσεν τὸν ἀκουσίαν. Xenophon, p. 644. "As a nest quite destitute of its defenders."



CHAP. road to Mantinæa, to anticipate the design of  
XXXI. the enemy ; but the aged king, with his son  
Archidamus, returned with a small, but valiant  
band, to the defence of Sparta. The engagement which followed, as related by Xenophon, appears one of the most extraordinary that history records. Epaminondas had employed every precaution which his peculiar sagacity could suggest ; he did not approach Sparta by those narrow roads, where a superiority of numbers would afford him small advantage ; he did not draw up his forces in the plain, in which, while entering the town, they might have been annoyed with missile weapons ; nor did he allow an opportunity of surprising him by stratagem or ambuscade, in the management of which the Spartans were at all times so dexterous. Seizing an eminence which commanded the town, he determined to descend into it with every advantage on his side, and without the seeming possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience. But the issue of so well-concerted an enterprize, the historian hesitates whether to refer to a particular providence of the gods, or to ascribe to the invincible courage of men actuated by despair. Archidamus, with scarcely an hundred men, opposed the progress of the enemy, cut down the first ranks, and advanced to assault the remainder. Then, strange to relate ! those Thebans, says Xenophon, who breathed fire, who had so often conquered, who were far superior in number, and who possessed the advantage of the ground, shamefully gave way. The Spartans pursued them with impetuosity, but were soon repelled with loss ; for the divinity, whose assistance had produced this extraordinary victory,

victory, seems also to have prescribed the limits beyond which it was not to extend <sup>C H A P.</sup> <sup>XXXI.</sup> <sup>69."</sup>

Epaminondas, foiled in an attempt which and in that promised such a fair prospect of success, did not <sup>against</sup> sink under his disappointment. As he had <sup>Manti-</sup> reason to believe that the whole forces at Man- <sup>næa ;</sup> tinæa would be withdrawn from that place to the defence of Sparta, he immediately sounded a retreat, returned to Tegea with the utmost expedition, and allowing his infantry to take time for rest and refreshment, he, with admirable presence of mind, ordered the horse to advance forward to Mantinæa (which was distant only twelve miles), and to maintain their ground until his arrival with the rest of the army. He expected to find the Mantinæans totally unprepared for such a visit; and as it was then autumn, he doubted not that most of the townsmen would be employed in the country, in reaping and bringing in the corn. His plan was wise, and well executed. The situation of the Mantinæans corresponded to his hopes. But it seemed as if fortune had delighted to baffle his sagacity. Before the Theban forces arrived at Mantinæa, a numerous and powerful squadron of Athenian cavalry entered that place, com- <sup>which is</sup> <sup>saved by</sup> <sup>the Athe-</sup> <sup>nian ca-</sup> <sup>valry.</sup> manded by Hegelochus, who then first learned

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<sup>69</sup> Plutarch tells a story on this occasion, of a young Spartan named Isadas, who stripped naked, anointed himself with oil, sallied forth with a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, and traced his path in blood through the thickest of the enemy. He returned unhurt, was crowned for his valour, but fined for fighting without his shield. Plut. in Agefil. To a modern reader, Xenophon's account of the battle will appear a pompous description of the effect of panic terror with which the Thebans were inspired, by finding, instead of ~~nothing~~ <sup>nothing</sup> <sup>sees</sup>, "a defenceless nest," the vigorous opposition of men in arms.

CHAP. the departure of the allies to protect the Lacedæmonian capital. He had scarcely received  
 XXXI. this intelligence, when the Thebans appeared, and advancing with great rapidity, prepared to effect the purpose of their expedition. The Athenians had not time to refresh themselves; they had eat nothing that day; they were inferior in number; they knew the bravery of the Theban and Thessalian cavalry, with whom they must contend; yet regardless of every consideration but the safety of their allies, they rushed into the field, stopped the progress of the assailants, and, after a fierce and bloody engagement, which displayed great courage on both sides, obtained an acknowledged victory. The enemy craved the bodies of their dead; the victors erected a trophy of their useful valour, which had saved the corn, cattle, slaves, women, and children <sup>70</sup> of Mantinæ from falling a prey to the invaders.

Epaminondas determines to risk a general engagement.

The repeated misfortunes, which would have broken the spirit of an ordinary commander, only determined Epaminondas to a general engagement, in which he might either wipe off the memory of his late disgrace, or obtain an honourable death, fighting to render his country the sovereign of Greece. The confederates had re-assembled at Mantinæa, strengthened by considerable reinforcements. Fresh succours had likewise arrived to the Thebans. Never had such numerous armies <sup>71</sup> taken the field during the perpetual wars in which those unhappy republics were engaged. But battles become really interesting, not so much by the number

<sup>70</sup> Xenophon, l. vii. p. 644.

<sup>71</sup> Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.



number of the troops, as by the conduct of the generals. It is worth while, says the military historian <sup>72</sup>, to observe the operations of Epaminondas on this memorable occasion. Having ranged his men in battalions, he led them, not along the plain, which was the nearest road to Mantinæa, but turning to the left, conducted them by a chain of hills which joined that city and Tegea, and skirted the eastern extremity of both. The enemy, apprised of his march, drew up their forces before the walls of Mantinæa; the Lacedæmonians, and such Arcadians as had embraced the more honourable cause, in the right wing, the Athenians in the left, the Achæans and Elians forming the main body. Meanwhile Epaminondas marched slowly along, extending his circuit, as if he wished to decline the engagement. Having approached that part of the mountain which faced the hostile army, he ordered his men to halt, and to lay down their arms. His former movements had occasioned great doubt and perplexity; but now it seemed evident that he had laid aside all thoughts of fighting that day, and was preparing to encamp. This opinion, too lightly conceived, proved fatal to the enemy. They abandoned their arms and their ranks, dispersed in their tents, and lost not only that external arrangement, but that inward preparation <sup>73</sup>, that martial ardour of mind, which ought to animate soldiers at the near prospect of an engagement. Epaminondas seized the decisive moment of attack. Facing to the right, he converted the column of march into an order of battle. His

CHAP.

XXXI.

His movements preceding the battle of Mantinæa.

F 2

troops

<sup>72</sup> Xenoph. p. 645.

<sup>73</sup> ἔλυσεν μὲν τὸν πολέμιον τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρασκευὴν· ἔλυσεν δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. Xenoph. *ibid.*

**CHAP.** troops were thus disposed instantaneously in the same order in which he meant to fight. At the head of his left wing, which consisted of the flower of the Bœotians, and which, as at the battle of Leuctra, he formed into a firm wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks, he advanced against the Spartans and Mantinæans; and trusting the event of the battle to the rapid impulse of this unexpected onset, he commanded the center and right wing, in which he placed less confidence, to proceed with a slow pace, that they might not come up and grapple with the opposing divisions of the enemy, until the victory of his left wing had taught them to conquer.

Battle of  
Manti-  
næa.  
Olymp.  
civ. 2.  
A. C. 363.

This judicious design was crowned with merited success. The enemy, perceiving the dreadful shock to which they were exposed, flew to their arms, put on their bucklers and helmets, bridled their horses, and suddenly resumed their ranks; but these different operations were performed with the trepidation of surprise and haste, rather than with the ardour of hope and courage; and the whole army had the appearance of men prepared rather to suffer, than to inflict, any thing cruel or terrible <sup>74</sup>. The Spartans and Mantinæans, drawn up in firm order, sternly waited the first brunt of the assailants. The battle was fierce and bloody, and after their spears were broken, both parties had recourse to their swords. The wedge of Epaminondas at length penetrated the Spartan line, and this advantage encouraged his center and right wing to attack and repel the corresponding divisions of

<sup>74</sup> Παντες δε πισοθυμους τι μαλλοι η ποιησουσι ερεσσαν. Xenoph. p. 646.

of the enemy. The Theban and Theſſalian cavalry were equally ſucceſſful. In the intervals of their ranks Epaminondas had placed a body of light infantry, whoſe miſſile weapons greatly annoyed the enemy's horſe, who were drawn up too deep. He had likewiſe taken the precaution to occupy a riſing ground on his right with a conſiderable detachment, which might take the Athenians in flank and rear, ſhould they advance from their poſt. Theſe prudent diſpoſitions produced a victory, which Epaminondas did not live to complete or improve. In the heat of the battle he received a mortal wound<sup>75</sup>, and was carried to an eminence, which was afterwards called the Watch-tower<sup>76</sup>, probably that he might the better obſerve the ſubſequent operations of the field. But with the departure of their leader was withdrawn the ſpirit which animated the Theban army. Having impetuoſly broke through the hoſtile ranks, they knew

<sup>75</sup> Pausanias in Arcad. ſays, that Epaminondas was killed by Gryllus, the ſon of Xenophon, the Athenian; and as a proof of this aſſertion, mentions a beautiful picture of the battle of Mantinea, in the Ceramicus of Athens, as well as the monument of Gryllus, erected by the Mantinæans on the field of battle; both ſubſiſting in the time of Pausanias, and both aſcribing to this Athenian the honour of killing Epaminondas. Plutarch, in Ageſilao, ſays, that Anticrates, a Spartan, killed Epaminondas with a ſword; that his poſterity were thence called Machairionides; and that, as late as the days of Plutarch, they enjoyed certain immunities and honours as a recompence for the merit of their anceſtor Anticrates in deſtroying the worſt enemy of Sparta. Gryllus the ſon of Xenophon fell in the battle of Mantinea; and the words, or rather the ſilence of his father, is very remarkable concerning the death of Epaminondas: "The Theban column broke the Spartans, *but when Epaminondas fell*, the reſt knew not how to uſe the victory." What ſublimity in this paſſage, if Gryllus really ſlew Epaminondas!

<sup>76</sup> Pauſan. ubi ſupra.



CHAP.  
XXXI.

knew not how to profit of this advantage. The enemy rallied in different parts of the field, and prevailed in several partial encounters. All was confusion and terror. The light infantry, which had been posted amidst the Theban and Thessalian horse, being left behind in the pursuit, were received and cut to pieces by the Athenian cavalry, commanded by Hegilochus. Elated with this success, the Athenians turned their arms against the detachment placed on the heights, consisting chiefly of Eubœans, whom they routed and put to flight, after a terrible slaughter. With such alternations of victory and defeat ended this memorable engagement. Both armies, as conquerors, erected a trophy; both craved their dead, as conquered<sup>77</sup>; and this battle, which being certainly the greatest, was expected to have proved the most decisive, ever fought among the Greeks, produced no other consequence but that general languor and debility long remarkable in the subsequent operations of those hostile republics.

Death of  
Epami-  
nondas.

When the tumult of the action ceased, the most distinguished Thebans assembled around their dying general. His body had been pierced with a javelin; and the surgeons declared, that it was impossible for him to survive the extraction of the weapon. He asked whether his shield was safe? which being presented to him, he viewed it with a languid smile of melancholy joy. He then demanded, whether the Thebans had obtained the victory? Being answered in the affirmative (for the Lacedæmonians indeed had first sent to demand the bodies of their slain), he declared himself ready to quit life without regret,

<sup>77</sup> Xenoph. l. vii. ad fin.

regret, since he left his country triumphant. CHAP. XXXI.  
 The spectators lamented, among other objects of sorrow, that he should die without children, who might inherit the glory of his name, and the fame of his virtues. "You mistake," said he with a cheerful presence of mind, "I leave two fair daughters, the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, who will transmit my renown to the latest ages." So saying, he ordered the weapon to be extracted, and immediately expired. The awful solemnity of his death corresponded with the dignified splendor of an active and useful life. He is usually described as a perfect character<sup>78</sup>; nor does the truth of history oblige us to detract any thing from this description, except that in some instances, and particularly in his last fatal invasion of the Peloponnesus, he allowed the blaze of patriotism to eclipse the mild light of justice and benevolence. He was buried in the field of battle, where his monument still existed, after four centuries, in the time of Pausanias, with an inscription in elegiac verse, enumerating his exploits. Hadrian, then master of the Roman world, added a second column, with a new inscription<sup>79</sup>, in honour of a character, whom that unsteady emperor had genius to admire, but wanted firmness to imitate.

An elegant Roman writer gives a brief but comprehensive panegyric of Epaminondas, that during his lifetime Thebes was the arbiter of Greece; whereas both before and afterwards, that republic continually languished in servitude  
 or

<sup>78</sup> Cicero Acad. Quest. l. i. & passim. Plutarch. Corin. Nepos. Pausan.

<sup>79</sup> Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. & Bæotic.

CHAP. or dependence <sup>80</sup>. But this observation betrays  
 XXXI. the inaccurate partiality of a biographer, who  
 often exalts the glory of a favourite hero, at the  
 expence of historic truth. By the death of  
 Epaminondas, Thebes was deprived of her  
 principal ornament and defence, the source of  
 her confidence, and the spring of her activity;  
 and her councils were thenceforth less ambi-  
 tious, and her arms less enterprising <sup>81</sup>. But six  
 years after that event, she controuled the deci-  
 sions of the Amphiſtyonic council, and, instead  
 of being reduced to a condition of dependence,  
 her power was still formidable to the most war-  
 like of her neighbours.

Ageſilaus's expedition into Egypt. Olymp. civ. 3. A. C. 362. Soon after the battle of Mantinæa, a general  
 peace was propoſed under the mediation of Ar-  
 taxerxes, who wanted Grecian auxiliaries to  
 check the inſurrections in Egypt and Leſſer  
 Aſia, which diſturbed the two laſt years of his  
 reign. The only condition annexed to this  
 treaty was, that each republic ſhould retain its  
 reſpective poſſeſſions. The Spartans deter-  
 mined to reject every accommodation until they had  
 recovered Meſſenia; and as Artaxerxes had uni-  
 formly oppoſed this demand, they tranſported  
 forces into Egypt, to foment the defection of  
 that province. At the head of a thouſand  
 heavy-armed Lacedæmonians, and ten thouſand  
 mercenaries, Ageſilaus ſupported one rebel after  
 another, having ſucceſſively ſet on the throne  
 Taches and Neſtanebus <sup>82</sup>. In this diſhonour-  
 able

<sup>80</sup> Hujus de virtutibus vitæque ſatis erit dictum, ſi hoc  
 unum adjunxero, quod nemo eat inficius; Thebas & ante Epa-  
 minondam natum, & poſt ejus interitum, perpetuo alieno  
 paruiſſe imperio; contra ea, quamdiu ille præſuerit reipub-  
 licæ, caput fuiſſe totius Græciæ. Corn. Nepos, in Epam.

<sup>81</sup> Vid. Polyb. Hiſt. l. vi. c. xli.

<sup>82</sup> Plut. in Ageſilao. Diodorus, l. xv. c. xxii.



able war he amassed considerable wealth, by CHAP.  
 means of which he probably expected to retrieve XXXI.  
 the affairs of his country. But returning home <sup>His death.</sup>  
 by Cyrenaica, he died on that coast, in the <sup>Olymp.</sup>  
 eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-first of <sup>civ. 4.</sup>  
 his reign <sup>83</sup>. His character has been sufficiently <sup>A. C. 361.</sup>  
 illustrated in the course of this work. He was  
 the greatest, and the most unfortunate of the  
 Spartan kings. He had seen the highest gran-  
 deur of Sparta, and he beheld her fall. During  
 the time that he governed the republic, his  
 country suffered more calamities and disgrace  
 than in seven centuries preceding his reign. His  
 ambition and his obstinacy, doubtless, contri-  
 buted to her disasters; yet so natural were the  
 principles from which he acted, so probable his  
 hopes of success, and so firm and manly his  
 struggles for victory, that a contemporary wri-  
 ter, who could see through the cloud of fortune,  
 ventured to bestow on Agefilaus a panegyric <sup>84</sup>,  
 which exalts him beyond the renown of his most  
 illustrious predecessors.

<sup>83</sup> Diodor. l. xv. c. xxii.

<sup>84</sup> Ὁ λόγος εἰς Ἀγέσιλαον, by Xenophon.

## C H A P. XXXII.

*State of Greece after the battle of Mantinea.—The Amphictyonic Council.—Returning Prosperity of Athens.—Vices resulting from its Government.—Abuses of the judiciary Power.—Of the Theatre.—Degeneracy of Grecian Music.—Extreme Profligacy of the Athenians.—The Vices of Cbares render him the Idol of the Multitude.—The Social War.—Banishment of Timotheus and Iphicrates.—Disgraceful Issue of the War.—Philosophy.—Statuary. Praxiteles. The Cnidian Venus.—Painting. Pamphilus, Nicias, Zeuxis.—Literature. Xenophon. His Military Expeditions. Religious and Literary Retreat. Lysias. Isocrates. Plato. His Travels. He settles in the Academy. His great Views. Theology. Cosmogony. Doctrine of Ideas. Of the Human Understanding. The Passions. Virtues. State of Retribution. Genius, and Character.*

C H A P.  
XXXII.

State of  
Greece af-  
ter the  
battle of  
Mantinea.

**W**ITH the battle of Mantinea ended the bloody struggle for dominion, which had long exhausted Thebes and Sparta. In that, or in the preceding engagements they had lost their ablest generals, and the flower of their troops. No Theban arose to emulate the magnanimity of Epaminondas, and to complete the designs

\* Xenophon's Greek history likewise ends with that battle. Henceforth we follow Plutarch and Diodorus, from whom we learn the principal circumstances of great events, which the orators Isocrates and Demosthenes, Aristotle's Treatise of Politics, and Xenophon's Discourses on the Revenues and Government of Athens will enable us more fully to explain.

designs of that illustrious patriot. Archidamus, who succeeded to the Spartan throne, imperfectly justified the high opinion conceived of his early wisdom and valour. Weakened by their wounds, and fatigued by exertions long and fruitless, those republics sunk into such weakness, as encouraged pretensions of their neighbours that had long lain dormant.

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During the *superiority*, or, in the language of ancient writers, during the *empire* of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, the majesty of the Amphictyonic council had degenerated into an empty pageant. Its deliberations were confined to matters of mere form ; it regulated some ceremonies of superstition ; it superintended games and spectacles ; it preserved peace and good order among the crowd of strangers who assembled, at stated times, to consult the oracle of Apollo. But for more than a century past, the public measures of the Greeks had been directed by councils held, not at Delphi, the residence of the Amphictyons, but in Athens, Sparta, or Thebes, in one or other of which the allies convened on every important emergency, acknowledging by their presence there, the respective authority of those capitals which were regarded as the heads of their several confederacies. But when first the Peloponnesian, then the Boeotian war, and last of all the battle of Mantinæa, had levelled the greatness, and overthrown the proud tyranny of those domineering republics, the Amphictyonic council once more emerged from obscurity ; and the general states of Greece having assembled according to their national and hereditary forms,

The Amphictyonic council resumes its ancient authority. Olymp. civ. 4. A. C. 361.

spurned



CHAP. XXXII. spurned the imperious dictates of any single community.

The Athenians recover many of their maritime possessions. Olymp. cv. 1.— cv. 3. A. C. 360—358.

While this event strengthened the foederal union, and tended to restore the primitive equality of the Grecian states, various circumstances concurred to revive the aspiring ambition of Athens. During the Boeotian war, the Athenians had acted as auxiliaries only; without making such efforts as enfeebled their strength, their arms had acquired great lustre. Their powerful rivals were humbled and exhausted: experience had taught them the danger of attempting to subdue, and the impossibility of keeping in subjection, the territories of their warlike neighbours: but the numerous islands of the Ægean and Ionian seas, the remote coasts of Thrace and Asia, invited the activity of their fleet, which they might now employ in foreign conquests, fearless of domestic envy. It appears, that soon after the death of Epaminondas, Eubœa again acknowledged the authority<sup>2</sup> of Athens; an event facilitated by the destruction of the Theban partisans, belonging to that place, in the battle of Mantinæ. From the Thracian Bosphorus to Rhodes, several places along both shores submitted to the arms of Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates; men,

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 513. & Demosthenes de Chersoneto sub fine, & Æschines in Ctesiphont. It appears, however, from these authors that the Thebans soon afterwards endeavoured to recover Eubœa. The Athenians again rescued it from their power, at the exhortation of Timotheus, whose pithy speech is commended by Demosthenes: "What, my countrymen, the Thebans in the island, and you still deliberating! Why not already in the harbour? why not embarked? why is not the sea covered with your navy? Demosthen. ubi supra.

men, who having survived Agefilaus and Epaminondas, were far superior, in abilities and in virtue, to the contemporary generals of other republics. The Cyclades and Corcyra courted the friendship of a people capable to interrupt their navigation, and to destroy their commerce. Byzantium had become their ally, and there was reason to hope that Amphipolis would soon be rendered their subject. Such multiplied advantages revived the ancient grandeur of Athens, which once more commanded the sea, with a fleet of near three hundred sail, and employed the best half of her citizens and subjects in ships of war or commerce <sup>3</sup>.

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This tide of prosperity, which flowed with most apparent force immediately after the battle <sup>4</sup> of Mantinæa, has been supposed productive of very important consequences. While Epaminondas lived, the Athenians, it is said, were kept vigilant in duty through jealousy and fear; but after the death of this formidable enemy, they sunk into those vices which occasioned their ruin. This splendid remark is not founded in truth. Two centuries before the birth of Epaminondas, the injustice, the avarice, the total corruption of the Athenians, is forcibly described by one of the most respectable of their countrymen <sup>5</sup>, who composed a system of wise laws in order to ascertain their rights,

The vices ascribed to the supposed degeneracy of the Athenians, resulted from the nature of their government.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. vii. p. 615. Diodorus, l. xv. c. xi. Isocrat. Panegy. & de Pace.

<sup>4</sup> Justin. l. vi. c. ix. first made this observation, which has been so frequently repeated.

<sup>5</sup> See above vol. i. c. xiii. and the elegiac verses of Solon preserved in Demosthenes Orat. *περί παραπρεσβειας*; a title that can only be translated by a paraphrase, "the misconduct of Æschines in his embassy."

CHAP. rights, and to reform their manners. But it  
 XXXII. was difficult to correct abuses that seem inher-  
 ent in the nature of democracy, which, even  
 as regulated by Solon, but still more as new-  
 modelled by Pericles, left the citizens tyrants in  
 one capacity, and slaves in another. The divi-  
 sion of the executive power of government  
 among the archons, the senate, assembly, and  
 even various committees of the assembly, ren-  
 dered it impossible to perceive, or prevent, the  
 hand of oppression. Men knew not from what  
 quarter their safety might be assailed; and be-  
 ing called to authority in their turn, they, in-  
 stead of making united opposition to the injus-  
 tice of their magistrates, contented themselves  
 with inflicting the same injuries which they had  
 either previously suffered, or still apprehended,  
 from the malice of their enemies. Nor is this  
 inconvenience peculiar to the Greek republics.  
 While human nature remains unchanged, and  
 the passions of men run in their ordinary  
 channel, the right to exercise power will com-  
 monly be attended with a strong inclination to  
 abuse it. Unless power, therefore, be counter-  
 acted by liberty; unless an impervious line of  
 separation be drawn between prerogative and  
 privilege, and that part of the constitution  
 which sustains its political life, be kept separate  
 and distinct from that which tends to corrupti-  
 on, it is of little consequence whether a coun-  
 try be governed by one tyrant or a thousand;  
 in both cases alike the condition of man is pre-  
 carious, and force prevails over law.

This sub-  
 ject illus-  
 trated;

This radical defect in the Grecian policies  
 produced many ruinous consequences in affairs  
 foreign and domestic, which were commonly  
 directed



directed by the selfish passions of a few, or the fluctuating caprices of the multitude, rather than by the rational and permanent interest of the community. But as diseases and other accidents often bring to light the latent weakness and imperfections of the body, so the vices of the Athenian government first appeared in their full magnitude after the unfortunate war of Peloponnesus; and, although the excess of the malady sometimes checked itself, and returns of ease and prosperity sometimes concealed its virulence, yet the deep-rooted evil still maintained its destructive progress, till it wrought the ruin of the constitution.

In the tumultuary governments of Greece, where the judiciary power frequently prevailed over the legislative, the sources of dissention were innumerable; while the feeble restraint of laws, ill administered, was unable to counteract their force. Although hereditary distinctions were little known or regarded, the poor and rich formed two distinct parties, which had their particular views and separate interests. In some republics the higher ranks bound themselves, by oath, to neglect no opportunity of hurting their inferiors<sup>6</sup>. The populace of Athens commonly treated the rich as if they had entered into an engagement not less atrocious<sup>7</sup>. During the intervals of party rage, private quarrels kept the state in perpetual fermentation. Beside the ordinary disputes concerning property, the competitions for civil offices, for military command, for obtaining public honours, or eluding punishments or burthens, opened

<sup>6</sup> Aristot. Polit. Isocrat. & Lyfias, passim.

<sup>7</sup> Xenoph. de rep. Athen.

CHAP. opened an ever-flowing source of bitter animosity. XXXII. Among this litigious people, neighbours were continually at variance. Every man was regarded as a rival and enemy, who had not proved himself a friend<sup>8</sup>. Hereditary resentments were perpetuated from one generation to another; and the seeds of discord being sown in such abundance, yielded a never-failing crop of libels, invectives, and legal prosecutions. The usual employment of six thousand Athenians consisted in deciding law-suits, the profits of which afforded the principal resource of the poorer citizens. Their legal fees amounted annually to an hundred and fifty talents; the bribes, which they received, sometimes exceeded that sum; and, both united, formed a sixth part of the Athenian revenues<sup>9</sup>, even in the most flourishing times. As the most numerous but most worthless class of the people commonly prevailed in the assembly, so they had totally ingrossed the tribunals, and it was to be expected that such judges would always be more swayed by favour and prejudice than by law and reason. The law punished with death the man guilty of giving bribes; but “we,” say the Athenian writers<sup>10</sup>, “advance him to the command of our armies; and the more criminal he becomes in this respect, with the higher and more lucrative honours is he invested.” Those who courted popular favour, lavished not only their own, but the public wealth, to flatter the passions of their adherents; an abuse which began during the splendid administration

<sup>8</sup> See Lyfias passim. & Xenoph. Memorab. l. ii. p. 748, & seqq.

<sup>9</sup> Aristoph. Vesp.

<sup>10</sup> Isocrates de pace, & Demosthenes, passim.

ministration of Pericles <sup>11</sup>, extended more widely under his unworthy successors; and, though interrupted during the calamities of the republic, revived with new force on the first dawn of returning prosperity <sup>12</sup>. CHAP. XXXII.

In the licence of democratic freedom, the citizens, poor and rich, thought themselves alike entitled to enjoy every species of festivity. Pericles introduced the practice of exhibiting not only tragedies, but comedies, at the public expence, and of paying for the admission of the populace. At the period of which we write, a considerable portion of the revenue was appropriated to the theatre; and some years afterwards <sup>13</sup>, a law was proposed by the demagogue Eubulus, and enacted by the senate and people, rendering it capital to divert, or even to propose diverting, the *theatrical* money to any other end or object <sup>14</sup>. and in those of the theatre.

Of all amusements known in polished society, the Grecian theatre was, doubtless, the most elegant and ingenious; yet several circumstances rendered it peculiarly liable to abuse. The great extent of the edifices in which plays were represented, naturally introduced masques, the better to distinguish the different *persons* <sup>15</sup>, or characters, of the drama; since the variations of

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<sup>11</sup> Thucydides, p. 108, & seqq.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. in Pericle.

<sup>13</sup> Before Christ 349, according to S. Petitus, de Leg. Attic. p. 385.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch. ibid. & Demosthen. Oration. passim.

<sup>15</sup> It is well known that the word *persona* originally signified a masque, from *personare*, because the ancient masques, both Greek and Roman, were so made as to increase and invigorate sound.



CHAP. of passion, with the correspondent changes of  
 XXXII. countenance, which form the capital merit of  
 modern performers, could scarcely have been  
 observed by an immense crowd of people, many  
 of whom must have been placed at a great distance from the scene. The same causes, together with the inimitable harmony of the Greek language, gave rise to musical declamation<sup>16</sup>, which might sometimes fortify passion, but always rendered speech more slow and articulate, and therefore more easily heard by the remote part of the audience. In combining the different parts of a tragic fable, the poet naturally rejects such incidents as are improper for representation. These, if necessary for carrying on the action of the piece, are supposed to be transacted elsewhere, and barely related on the theatre. The time required for such events, when they are not simultaneous with those exhibited on the stage, necessarily interrupts the representation, and leaves room for the choral songs, which being incorporated with the tragedy, heightens its effect, and increases the spectator's delight; consequences extremely different from those attending the act tunes and detached airs of modern plays and operas, universally condemned by good judges, as suspending the action, and destroying the interest of the drama, and only affording opportunities to effeminate throats to shine in trills and divisions, at the expence of poetry and good sense. But in ancient, as well as modern times, the corrupt taste of the licentious vulgar was ever  
 at

<sup>16</sup> The Greeks never embraced the absurd custom of dividing the acting and speaking between two persons. This is mentioned by Livy, as the invention of Titus Andronicus, who flourished 240 years before Christ.

at variance with the discerning judgment of the CHAP. wife and virtuous. The form and arrangement XXXII. of the Grecian tragedy was exactly imitated in the extravagant pieces of Aristophanes, and his profligate contemporaries and successors <sup>17</sup>. These pernicious productions formed the favourite entertainment of the populace. The masque, disguising the countenance of the performer, allowed him to indulge in the most unblushing licence of voice and gesture; the declamation was effeminate and vicious; above all, the music became glaring, tawdry, voluptuous, and dissolute in the highest degree, and suited only that perverse debauchery of soul from which it originally sprung, and which it served afterwards to inflame and nourish <sup>18</sup>.

A mysterious cloud hangs over the Grecian music, to which effects are ascribed far transcending the actual power of that art. Yet we cannot refuse our assent to the concurring testimony of ancient writers, who refer to this principle the extreme degeneracy and corruption  
 Extreme profligacy of the Athenians.  
 G 2 which

<sup>17</sup> See above, Vol. I. c. xiii.

<sup>18</sup> Aristotle, l. viii. de Republ. says ironically, "Every kind of music is good for something; that of the theatres is necessary for the amusement of the mob; being well suited to the perversion of their minds and manners, and let them enjoy it." Plato, Aristoxenus, and Plutarch, bitterly complain of the corruption of music, as the main source of vice and immorality. That art, which had anciently been used as the vehicle of religious and moral instruction, was employed in the theatres to excite every voluptuous and dissolute passion. Plato de Legibus, l. iii. Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, l. xiv. & Plutarch. de Musica. In speaking of the vices of London, a writer, who had the spirit of an ancient legislator, says, "That were a man permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he needed not care who should make its laws." Fletcher of Saltoun's Works, p. 266.

CHAP. which almost universally infected the Athenians  
 XXXII. at the period now under review. Causes which  
 operate on the many are not easily mistaken; but should we still doubt the cause, the effect at least cannot be denied. The Athenian youth are said to have dissipated their fortunes, and melted the vigour of mind and body, in wanton and expensive dalliance with the female performers on the theatre<sup>19</sup>. Weary and fastidious with excess of criminal indulgence, they lost all capacity or relish for solid and manly occupations; and at once deserted the exercises of war, and the schools of philosophers. To fill up the vacuities of their listless lives, they, as well as persons more advanced in years, loitered in the shops of musicians, and other artists<sup>20</sup>; or sauntered in the forum and public places, idly enquiring after news, in which they took little interest, unless some danger alarmed the insipid uniformity of their pleasures<sup>21</sup>. Dice, and other games of chance, were carried to a ruinous excess; and are so keenly stigmatised by the moral writers of the age, that it should seem, they had begun but recently to prevail, and prove fatal<sup>22</sup>. The people at large were peculiarly addicted to the sensual gratifications of the table; and, might we believe a poet quoted by Athenæus, had lately bestowed the freedom of their city (once deemed an honour by princes and kings<sup>23</sup>) on the sons of Chærephilus,

<sup>19</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534. who gives a general description of Athenian profligacy.

<sup>20</sup> Isocrat. in Areopag. and Lyfias's defence of a poor man accused before the senate, translated in the Life of Lyfias, p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> Demosthen. Philipp. passim.

<sup>22</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. Lyfias in Alcibiad.

<sup>23</sup> Demosthen. de Republic. Ordinand.



philus, on account of the uncommon merit of their father in the art of cookery <sup>24</sup>,

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XXXII.

Idleness, indulgence, and dissipation, had reduced the greater part of the Athenian citizens to extreme indigence. Although landed property was more equally divided in Greece than in any modern country, we are told that about one fourth of the Athenians were totally destitute of *immoveable* possessions <sup>25</sup>. Their dress was frequently so mean and dirty, that it was difficult, by their external appearance, to distinguish them from slaves; a circumstance which arose not from slovenliness, but from poverty, since we are assured that such as could afford the expence spared no pains to adorn their persons; and that many who danced during summer in embroidered robes, spent the winter in places too shameful to be named <sup>26</sup>. And how is it possible (to use the words of their own authors <sup>27</sup>) that wretches destitute of the first necessities of life, should administer public affairs with wisdom? We find accordingly, that they were extremely ill qualified for executing those

Their  
idleness,  
poverty,  
and igno-  
rance.

<sup>24</sup> Athenæus, l. iii. p. 119.

<sup>25</sup> See the Discourse of Lysias upon a proposal for dissolving the ancient government of Athens. Lysias's orations were chiefly written in the space of twenty years, between 404 and 384 before Christ. They afford an uniform picture of the poverty, misery, and vices of his contemporaries; which the reader will find abridged in the introduction to my translation of that writer. The Athenian affairs became more flourishing after the fall of Thebes and Sparta. Their resources were again exhausted by the war with their allies. The revenues were greatly raised by the conquests of Timotheus, Phocion, &c. and the good management of Lycurgus and Demosthenes. Plut. in Lycurg. in lib. de Dec. Orator,

<sup>26</sup> Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens,

<sup>27</sup> Isocrat. & Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.

CHAP. those offices with which they were intrusted.

XXXII. As the lower ranks had in a great measure ingrossed the administration of justice, it was not uncommon to bribe the clerks employed in transcribing the laws of Solon, to abridge, interpolate, and corrupt them. What is still more extraordinary, such a gross artifice frequently succeeded; nor was the deceit discovered until litigant parties produced in court contradictory laws <sup>28</sup>. When their negligence could not be surprised, their avarice might be bribed; justice was sold; riches, virtue, eminence of rank or abilities, always exposed to danger, and often ended in disgrace <sup>29</sup>. For those needy Athenians, who formed the most numerous class in the republic, endeavoured to alleviate their misery by a very criminal consolation; persecuting their superiors, banishing them their country, confiscating their estates, and treating them on the slightest provocation, and often without any provocation at all, with the utmost injustice and cruelty <sup>30</sup>. Though occasionally directed by the equity of an Aristides, or the magnanimity of a Cimon, they, for the most part, listened to men of an opposite character. He who could best flatter and deceive them obtained most of their confidence. With such qualifications, the turbulent, licentious, and dissolute, in a word, the orator who most resembled his audience, commonly prevailed in the assembly; and specious or hurtful talents carried off the rewards due to real merit. Isocrates <sup>31</sup> assures

us

<sup>28</sup> Life of Lyfias, prefixed to his orations, p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> See Lyfias's pleadings throughout.

<sup>30</sup> Isocrates de Pace; and the numerous examples of that kind, which have already occurred in this history.

<sup>31</sup> In his oration on reforming the government of Athens.

us of the fact ; and Xenophon <sup>32</sup> affirms, that it is perfectly conformable to the nature and principles of the Athenian form of government, CHAP. XXXII.

With such principles and manners, the Athenians required only a daring and profligate leader, to involve them in designs the most extravagant and pernicious. Such a personage presented himself in Chares, whose soldier-like appearance, blunt address, and bold impetuous valour, masked his selfish ambition, and rendered him the idol of the populace. His person was gigantic and robust, his voice commanding, his manners haughty ; he asserted positively, and promised boldly ; and his presumption was so excessive, that it concealed his incapacity not only from others, but from himself. Though an enterprising and successful partisan, he was unacquainted with the great duties of a general ; and his defects appear the more striking and palpable, when compared with the abilities of Iphicrates and Timotheus, his contemporaries, who prevailed as often by address as by force, and whose conquests were secured to the republic by the moderation, justice, and humanity, with which they had been obtained, and with which they continued to be governed. Chares proposed a very different mode of administration ; he exhorted his countrymen to supply the defects of their treasury, and to acquire the materials of those pleasures which they regarded as essential to their happiness, by plundering the wealth of their allies and colonies. This counsel was too faithfully obeyed ; the vexations, anciently exercised against the tributary and dependent states, were renewed

<sup>32</sup> In his treatise de Republic, Athen,



CHAP. renewed and exceeded <sup>33</sup>. The weaker com-  
 XXXII. munities complained, and remonstrated, against  
 this intolerable rapacity and oppression; while  
 the islands of Chios, Coos, Rhodes, as well as  
 the city of Byzantium, prepared openly to re-  
 volt, and engaged with each other to repel  
 force by force, until they should obtain peace  
 and independence <sup>34</sup>.

The social war. Olymp. cv. 3. A.C. 358, Chares, probably the chief instrument, as well as the adviser of the arbitrary measures which had occasioned the revolt, was sent out with a powerful fleet and army, to quash at once the hopes of the insurgents. He failed towards Chios, with an intention to seize the capital of that island, which was supposed to be the centre and prime mover of rebellion. The confederates, informed of his motions, had already drawn thither the greatest part of their force. The city of Chios was besieged by sea and land. The islanders defended themselves with vigour. Chares found it difficult to repulse their sallies. His fleet attempted to enter their harbour without success; the ship of Chabrias alone penetrated thus far; and that able commander, whose valour and integrity merited a better fortune, though deserted by the fleet, yet forsook not the ship intrusted to him by the republic. His companions threw away their shields, and saved themselves by swimming to the Athenian squadron, which was still within their reach. But Chabrias, fighting bravely, fell by the darts of the Chians, preferring an honourable death to a disgraceful life <sup>35</sup>.

Encouraged

<sup>33</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. & Isocrat. de Pace.

<sup>34</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. pp. 413. 423.

<sup>35</sup> Nepos in Chabr. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 423, & seqq.

Encouraged by advantages over an enemy CHAP. XXXII.  
 who had at first affected to despise them, the  
 insurgents augmented their fleet, and ravaged  
 the isles of Lemnos and Samos. The Atheni-  
 ans, indignant that the territories of their faith-  
 ful allies should fall a prey to the depredations  
 of rebels, fitted out, early in the next year, a  
 new armament under the command of Mnest-  
 heus, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of  
 Timotheus, expecting that the new commander  
 would respectfully listen to the advice of those  
 great men, who perhaps declined acting as  
 principals in an expedition where Chares pos-  
 sessed any share of authority. That general  
 had raised the siege of Chios, and now cruised  
 in the Hellespont; where, being joined by  
 Mnestheus, the united squadrons amounted to  
 an hundred and twenty sail. It was immedi-  
 ately determined to cause a diversion of the  
 enemy's forces from Samos and Lemnos, by  
 laying siege to Byzantium. The design suc-  
 ceeded; the allies withdrew from these islands,  
 collected their whole naval strength, and pre-  
 pared vigorously for defending the principal  
 city in their confederacy.

The hostile armaments approached each other, with a resolution to join battle, when  
 a sudden and violent storm arose, which ren-  
 dered it impossible for the Athenians to bear  
 up to the enemy, or even to keep the sea,  
 without being exposed to shipwreck. Chares  
 alone confidently insisted on commencing the  
 attack, while the other commanders, more  
 cautious and experienced, perceived the dis-  
 advantage, and declined the unequal dan-  
 ger.

CHAP.  
XXXII.

ger<sup>36</sup>. His impetuosity, thus over-ruled by the prudence of his colleagues, was converted into resentment and fury; he called the soldiers and sailors to witness their opposition, which he branded with every odious epithet of reproach; and, with the first opportunity, dispatched proper messengers to Athens, to accuse them of incapacity, cowardice, and total neglect of duty. The accusation was supported by venal orators in the pay of Chares.

Their  
trial;

Timotheus and Iphicrates were tried capitally. The former trusted to his innocence and eloquence; the latter used a very extraordinary expedient to sway the judges, conformable however, to the spirit of that age, when courts of justice were frequently instruments of oppression, governed by every species of undue influence, easily corrupted and easily intimidated. The targeteers, or light infantry, who had been armed, disciplined, and long commanded, by Iphicrates, enjoyed the same reputation in Greece, which the *Fabian* soldiers afterwards did in Italy. They were called the *Iphicratenſian* troops, from the name of their commander, to whom they owed their merit and their fame, and to whose person (notwithstanding the strictness of his discipline) they were strongly attached by the ties of gratitude and esteem. The youngest and bravest of this celebrated band readily obeyed the injunctions of their admired general; surrounded, on the day

<sup>36</sup> We are not informed by Diodorus or Nepos, why the disadvantage and danger were on the side of the Athenians; probably, being better sailors, they expected to profit of their skill in *manœuvre*, which the storm rendered useless and unavailing.



day of trial, the benches of the magistrates ; CHAP.  
and took care seasonably to display the points XXXII.  
of their daggers <sup>37</sup>.

It was the law of Athens, that, after preli- and ba-  
minaries had been adjusted, and the judges nishment.  
assembled, the parties should be heard, and the  
trial begun and ended on the same day ; nor  
could any person be twice tried for the same  
offence. The rapidity of this mode of proce-  
dure favoured the views of Iphicrates. The  
magistrates were overawed by the imminence of  
a danger, which they had neither strength to  
resist, nor time to elude. They were compelled  
to an immediate decision ; but, instead of the  
sentence of death, which was expected, they  
imposed a fine <sup>38</sup> on the delinquents, which no  
Athenian citizen in that age was in a condition  
to pay. This severity drove into banishment  
those able and illustrious commanders. Timo-  
theus failed to Chalcis in Eubœa, and after-  
wards to the isle of Lesbos, both which places  
his valour and abilities had recovered for the  
republic, and which, being chosen as his resi-  
dence in disgrace, sufficiently evince the mild-  
ness of his government, and his moderation in  
prosperity. Iphicrates travelled into Thrace,  
where he had long resided. He had formerly  
married the daughter of Cotys, the most con-  
siderable of the Thracian princes ; yet he lived  
and

<sup>37</sup> It was probably during this trial, that Iphicrates being reproached with betraying the interests of his country, asked his accuser, " Would you, on a like occasion, have been guilty of that crime ? " " By no means," replied the other. " And can you then imagine," replied the hero, " that Iphicrates should be guilty ? " Quintilian l. v. c. xii.

<sup>38</sup> One hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds.

CHAP. and died in obscurity <sup>39</sup>; nor did either he or  
 XXXII. Timotheus thenceforth take any share in the  
 affairs of their ungrateful country <sup>40</sup>. Thus did  
 the social war destroy or remove Iphicrates,  
 Chabrias, and Timotheus, the best generals  
 whom Greece could boast; and, the brave and  
 honest Phocion excepted, the last venerable re-  
 mains of Athenian virtue <sup>41</sup>.

Chares en-  
 trusted  
 with the  
 sole con-  
 duct of  
 the war;  
 Olymp.  
 cv. 4.  
 A. C. 357.

By the removal of those great men, Chares  
 was left to conduct, uncontrouled, the war  
 against the allies; and to display the full extent  
 of his worthlessness and incapacity. His insati-  
 able avarice rendered him intolerable to the  
 friends of Athens; his weakness and negligence  
 exposed him to the contempt of the insurgents.  
 He indulged his officers and himself in a total  
 neglect of discipline; the reduction of the re-  
 bels was the least matter of his concern; he  
 was attended by an effeminate crowd of singers,  
 dancers, and harlots <sup>42</sup>, whose luxury exhausted  
 the scanty supplies raised by the Athenians for  
 the service of the war <sup>43</sup>. In order to satisfy  
 the clamorous demands of the soldiers, Chares,  
 regardless of the treaties subsisting between  
 Athens

<sup>39</sup> Diodorus only says, that he was dead before the bat-  
 tle of Chæronæa, which happened twenty years after his ban-  
 nishment.

<sup>40</sup> Nepos says, that after the death of Timotheus, the  
 Athenians remitted nine parts of his fine; but obliged his  
 son Conon to pay the remaining tenth, for repairing the walls  
 of the Piræus, which his grandfather had rebuilt from the  
 spoils of the enemy.

<sup>41</sup> *Military virtue.* Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum  
 Atheniensium, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus; neque post  
 illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memo-  
 ria. Nepos in Timoth. The biographer forgets Phocion.

<sup>42</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

<sup>43</sup> Demosthen. Philipp. i.

Athens and Persia, hired himself and his forces CHAP. XXXII.  
 to Artabazus, the wealthy satrap of Ionia, who had revolted from his master Artaxerxes Ochus, the most cruel and detestable tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of Cyrus. The arms of the Greeks saved Artabazus from the implacable resentment of a monster incapable to pity or forgive; and their meritorious services were amply rewarded by the lavish gratitude of the satrap.

This transaction, how extraordinary soever it may appear to the modern reader, neither surprised nor displeased the Athenians. They were accustomed to allow their commanders in foreign parts to act without instructions or controul; and the creatures of Chares loudly extolled his good management in paying the Grecian troops with Persian money. But the triumph of false joy was of short duration. Ochus sent an embassy to remonstrate with the Athenians on their unprovoked infraction of the peace; and threatened, that unless they immediately withdrew their forces from Asia, he would assist the rebels with a fleet of three hundred sail. This just menace, want of success against the confederates, together with a reason still more important, which will soon come to be fully explained, obliged the Athenians to recal their armament from the East, and to terminate the social war, without obtaining any of the purposes for which it had been undertaken. The confederates made good the claims which their boldness had urged; regained complete freedom and independence <sup>44</sup>; and lived twenty years exempt from the legal oppression of subsidies

<sup>44</sup> Diodor. p. 424.



**C H A P.** fidies and contingents, till they submitted, with  
**XXXII.** the rest of Greece, to the arms and intrigues  
 of Philip, and the irresistible fortune of the  
 Macedonians.

State of  
 philoso-  
 phy.

Notwithstanding the decay of martial spirit, the extravagance of public councils, and the general corruption of manners, which prevailed in Athens, and in other cities of Greece, the arts and sciences were still cultivated with ardour and success. During the period now under review, the scholars of Hippocrates and Democritus enriched natural philosophy with many important discoveries <sup>45</sup>. The different branches of mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy, received great improvements from Eudoxus <sup>46</sup> of Cnidus, Timæus <sup>47</sup> of Locri, Archytas of Tarentum, and Meton of Athens <sup>48</sup>. The Megaric school flourished under Stilpo, the most learned and acute of that disputatious sect, which, from its continual wranglings, merited the epithet of contentious <sup>49</sup>. The doctrines of Aristippus were maintained by his daughter Areté, and improved by Hegesias and Anneceris, who paved the way for Epicurus <sup>50</sup>. The severe philosophy of Antisthenes had fewer followers <sup>51</sup>. But Diogenes alone was equal to a sect <sup>52</sup>.

Statuary

<sup>45</sup> Galenus. de Natur. facultat. & Hippocrat. *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, &c.

<sup>46</sup> Laert. l. viii. sect. 86 & Suid. in Eudox.

<sup>47</sup> Jambl. de Pythagor.

<sup>48</sup> Censorin. de Die natal.

<sup>49</sup> *Ἐπίκουρος*. Laert. l. vi. sect. 107.

<sup>50</sup> Laertius & Suidas.

<sup>51</sup> *Ἄλιαν*. Var. Histor. l. x. c. xvi.

<sup>52</sup> We shall have occasion to speak more fully of Diogenes hereafter.

Statuary was cultivated by Polycletus and Canachus of Sicyon, by Naucydes of Argos, and by innumerable artists in other cities of Greece, Italy, and Ionia. The works of Polycletus were the most admired. His greatest work was the colossal statue of Argive Juno, composed of gold and ivory. Bronze and marble, however, still furnished the usual materials for sculpture. The Grecian temples, particularly those of Delphi and Olympia, were enriched with innumerable productions of this kind, during the period to which our present observations relate. One figure of Polycletus acquired peculiar fame. From the exactness of the proportions<sup>53</sup>, it was called the rule, or standard. Even Lyfippus, the contemporary and favourite of Alexander, regarded it as a model of excellence, from which it was imprudent to depart.

CHAP.

XXXII.

Of the fine  
arts.

Statuary.

Between Polycletus and Lyfippus flourished The Praxiteles, whose works formed the intermediate shade between the sublime style, which prevailed in the age of Pericles, and the beautiful, which attained perfection under Lyfippus and Apelles, in the age of Alexander. The statues

works of  
Praxiteles.  
Olymp.  
cv. 1.

A. C. 460.

<sup>53</sup> Winckelmann, p. 653, and his translator Mr. Huber, vol. iii. p. 34. differ from Pliny, l. 35. c. 19. They found the statue, called the Rule, or Canon, with another called the Doryphorus, because grasping a spear. Pliny's words are, "Polycletus Sicyonius Diadumenum fecit molli-ter juvenem, centum talentis nobilitatum; Idem et Dory-phorum viriliter puerum. Fecit et quem canona artifices vocant, lineamenta artis ex eo petentes, velut a lege qua-dam; solusque hominum artem ipse (forse ipsam) fecisse, artis opere judicatur." They have followed Cicero de Clar. Orator. c. 86.—yet Cicero, speaking incidentally on the sub-ject, might more naturally mistake than Pliny, writing ex-pressly on sculpture.

CHAP. statues of Praxiteles bore a similar relation to  
 XXXII. those of Phidias, which the paintings of Guido  
 and Corregio bear to those of Julio Romano,  
 and Raphael. The works of the earlier artists  
 are more grand and more sublime, those of the  
 later more graceful and more alluring; the  
 first class being addressed to the imagination,  
 the second to the senses. The works of Praxi-  
 teles were in the Ceramicus of Athens; but  
 neither in the Ceramicus, nor in any part of the  
 world, was a statue to be seen equal to his ce-  
 lebrated Venus, which long attracted spectators  
 from all parts to Cnidus. Praxiteles made two  
 statues of the goddess at the same time, the one  
 clothed, the other naked. The decent modesty  
 of the Coans preferred the former; the latter  
 was purchased by the Cnidians, and long re-  
 garded as the most valuable possession of their  
 community. The voluptuous Nicomedes, king  
 of Bithynia, languished after this statue; to  
 purchase such unrivalled charms he offered to  
 pay the debts of Cnidus, which were immense;  
 but the Cnidians determined not to part with  
 an ornament from which their republic derived  
 so much celebrity. "Having considered,"  
 says an ancient author <sup>54</sup>, the beautiful avenues  
 leading to the temple, we at length entered the  
 sacred dome. In the middle stands the statue  
 of the goddess, in marble of Paros. A sweet  
 smile sits on her lips; no garment hides her  
 charms; the hand only, as by an instinctive  
 impulse, conceals those parts which modesty  
 permits not to name. The art of Praxiteles  
 has given to the stone the softness and sensibility  
 of flesh. O Mars, the most fortunate of the  
 gods!"

The Cni-  
 dian  
 Venus.

<sup>54</sup> Lucian Amor.



gods !” But it is impossible to translate his too faithful description into the decency of modern language ; a description more animated and voluptuous than even the chisel of Praxiteles. CHAP. XXXII.

The honour which Polycletus and Praxiteles acquired in sculpture, was, during the same age, attained in painting by Eupompus and Pamphilus of Sicyon, by Euphranor of Corinth, by Apollodorus and Nicias of Athens ; above all by Zeuxis and Timanthes<sup>55</sup>. The works of Eupompus are now unknown, but in his own times his merit and celebrity occasioned a new division of the schools, which were formerly the Grecian and the Asiatic ; but after Eupompus, the Grecian school was subdivided into the Athenian and Sicyonian. Pamphilus, and his scholar Appelles, gave fresh lustre to the latter school, which seems to have flourished longer than any other in Greece, since the paintings exhibited at the celebrated procession of Ptole-

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H

my

<sup>55</sup> Pliny, in his 35th book. I have paid little attention to his pretended Epochs of Art, when inconsistent with the information of more ancient authors. The Greek historians, from whom he copied this part of his work, found it convenient, at every pause in their narrative, to give some account of men who had distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences, of whom they had no opportunity to make mention in relating public transactions, and describing wars and negotiations. The æra of every peace furnished a proper resting-place to the historian ; from which he looked back, and collected the names worthy to be handed down to posterity. Every such æra, therefore, Pliny, and after him Winkelmann, have considered as an epoch of art ; not reflecting, that arts do not suddenly arise and flourish, and when once they flourish, do not suddenly decay ; since the mind long retains the impulse which it has received ; and the active powers of man, when once directed to their proper objects, are not easily lulled to repose.

C H A P. my Philadelphus were all the productions of Si-  
XXXII. cyonian masters 56.

Works of  
Pamphi-  
lus.

Few works of Pamphilus are described by ancient authors. His picture of the Heraclidæ, carrying branches of olive, and imploring the assistance of the Athenians, has not, however, escaped the vigilant eye of national vanity 57. He was by birth a Macedonian, but well versed in literature and science, which he thought indispensably necessary to a painter. He received about two hundred pounds from each of his scholars, and seems to have been the first who put a high price on his works. He lived to enjoy his fame, and rendered his profession so fashionable, that it became customary in Sicyon, and afterwards in other parts of Greece, to instruct the sons of wealthy families in the art of design. This liberal profession was forbidden to slaves; nor, during the existence of Grecian freedom, did any celebrated production in sculpture or painting come from servile hands 58.

Of Eu-  
phranor.

Euphranor the Corinthian excelled both in painting and statuary. The dignity of his heroes was admired. He painted the twelve gods. He said that *his* Theseus had fed on flesh, that of Parrhasius on roses. He wrote on colours and symmetry. Apollodorus the Athenian was deemed the first who knew the force of light and shade 59. His priest in prayer, and his  
Ajax

Apollodo-  
rus.

<sup>56</sup> Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 196.

<sup>57</sup> Aristoph. Plut. v. 385.

<sup>58</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. xxxvi. sect. 8.

<sup>59</sup> This is the commendation of Plutarch. Pliny speaks more highly of Apollodorus. "Festinus ad lumina artis, in quibus primus refulsit Apollodorus Atheniensis . . . ne-  
que

Ajax struck with lightning, were held in high estimation. Nicias, his fellow-citizen, excelled in female figures, and in all the magic of colouring. His Calypso, Iö, and Andromeda, claimed just fame; but his greatest composition was the Necromanteia of Homer<sup>60</sup>. Attalus king of Pergamus (for Nicias lived to a great age) offered twelve thousand pounds for this picture; but the artist, who was extremely wealthy, gave it in a present to his native country. Praxiteles, when asked which of his statues he most valued, answered, "Those of which the models were retouched by Nicias."

CHAP.  
XXXII.

Nicias.

Zeuxis is said to have been born at Heraclæa, but it is uncertain in which of the cities known by that name. He acquired great wealth by his works; at length he refused money, boasting that no price could pay them. The modesty of his Penelopé was equal to a lesson of morality. He painted Hercules strangling the serpents in the presence of the astonished

H 2

Amphytrion

que ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur, quæ teneat oculos." Pliny's praises often clash with each other. He frequently calls different persons the first in the art, and even in the same branch of it. The warmth of his fancy leaves him no time for calculating the weight of his expressions. His credulity, love of wonder, and inaccuracy, cannot be defended. Yet his judgments on pictures and statues are not without their merit; since the perfection of those works of art consists in making a deep impression, in transporting and elevating the affections, and in raising that glow of sentiment, which Pliny is so happy in communicating to his readers.

<sup>60</sup> Long before all the celebrated works of art, Homer had viewed nature with a picturesque eye. For the innumerable pictures copied from him, see Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. l. ii. c. vi. p. 345. Homer gave the idea of what is grand and pathetic in intellect, which painters and statuaries translated into what is touching and awful to the eye.



CHAP. Amphytrion and Alcmena. His picture dedicated in the temple of Juno Lucina, at Agrigentum, has been often mentioned. Being allowed to view the naked beauty of that populous city, it is known that he chose as models five virgins, whose united charms were expressed in this celebrated piece. His greatest work was Jupiter sitting on his throne, and surrounded by the gods <sup>61</sup>.

Timanthes

<sup>61</sup> Valerius Maximus, l. iii. c. vii. speaks of his Helena painted for the city of Crotona. On his naked Helen Zeuxis inscribed the following lines of Homer :

Οὐ νῦν αἰς Τρώας καὶ εὐνημίδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
Τοῖη δάμφει γυναίκε πολὺν χρόνον ἀλγέα πάσχει  
Αἰνῶς ἀθάνατῃσι Διὸς ἑσπέρῃ ἰοικεν.

Il. iii. v. 154.

“ They cry’d, No wonder such celestial charms,  
For nine long years have set the world in arms :  
What winning graces ! what majestic mien !  
She moves a goddess, and she looks a queen.” POPE.

Pope has paraphrased the last line, “ For she is wonderfully like to the immortal gods.” This must have sounded nobly to the Greeks, who would doubtless have considered “ looking a queen,” as a sinking in poetry. But I have cited the lines, to shew by what different means poetry and painting attain the same end. Both Homer and Zeuxis convey an high idea of Helen’s beauty ; but Homer does it by the effects of this beauty, which could animate the cold age of Priam, Panthoos, &c. whom he has just inimitably described :

Γῆραι δὲ πολέμοιο πεπαισμένοι, ἀλλ’ ἀγορήται  
Ἑσθλοὶ, τεττιγιστοὶ ἰοικότες οἷτε καὶ ὕλην  
Διὶ δριμύ φιλζομένοι οἷα λειριόσσαν ἰῦσι.

When the Greek monk, Constantinus Manasses (Chron. p. 20.) describes the beauty of Helen,

Ἦν ἡ γυνὴ περικαλλὲς εὐφρυνε εὐχρηστοτάτῃ  
Εὐκαρῶς εὐπροσωπὸς βεωπὶς χροὸς οὐχ ὡς ;

and

Timanthes reached the highest perfection of his art; but his genius surpassed the art itself. XXXII. In his sacrifice of Iphigenia, a gradation of sorrow was seen in the faces of the spectators. It was carried to the utmost height, consistent with beauty, in the countenance of her uncle Menelaus. But Agamemnon, who was still more deeply afflicted with the unhappy fate of his daughter, veiled his face with his robe. In several others of his pieces, Timanthes discovered the power of transporting the mind beyond the picture. He painted to the fancy rather than to the eye. In his works, as in the descriptions of Homer and Milton, more was understood than expressed.

The power of expression was carried to a degree of perfection which it is not easy to believe, and scarcely possible to comprehend. The civil and military arrangements of the Greeks gave, doubtless, great advantages to their artists in this respect. Aristides, a Theban painter, represented the sacking of a town; among other scenes of horror, a child was painted clinging to the breast of its wounded mother, who "*felt and feared*"<sup>62</sup>, that after she was dead, the child

and so on, through a dozen of lines, the imagination of the reader cannot follow him; each epithet of beauty drives the preceding from the memory; and we fancy that we see a man laboriously rolling stones up one side of a hill, which immediately roll down the other. Ariosto's description of the beauty of Alcina (cant. viii.), is in the same bad taste. How different is Virgil's "*Pulcherrima Dido*." Virgil knew the difference between poetical and picturesque images. Our English romances abound with examples of this species of bad taste, arising from mistaking the boundaries of distinct, though kindred, arts. See above, vol. ii. cap. xiv. p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> These are the words of Pliny.

CHAP. child should suck blood instead of milk." Parrhasius of Ephesus, in an earlier age, personified the people of Athens, in a figure that characterised them as at once cruel and compassionate, proud and humble, brave and cowardly, elevated and mean. Such discriminations, as well as such complications of passion, are unquestionably beyond the reach of modern art, and will therefore be pronounced imaginary. It is worthy of remark, that the same Parrhasius, who seems to have united the excellencies of Dominichino, Raphael, and Correggio, was distinguished by the gliding motion of his outline, and the sweetness with which it melted into the ground <sup>63</sup>.

Colouring. Ideal beauty, just proportion, natural and noble attitudes, an uniform greatness of style, are acknowledged to have equally belonged to the ancient painters and statuaries. But the vanity or envy of modern times is unwilling to allow any merit to the former, which the remains of the latter do not justify and confirm. The

<sup>63</sup> Pliny considers this as the perfection of art. "Hæc est in pictura summa sublimitas. Corpora enim pingere et media rerum, est quidem magni operis; sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint. Extrema corporum facere, & desinentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in successu artis invenitur. Ambire enim debet se extremitas ipsa, & sic desinere, ut promittat alia post se; ostentatque etiam quæ occultat." Ibid. c. xxxvi. sect. 5. Mr. Falconet, in his observations on this passage, is of a different opinion. He thinks it more difficult to paint the middle parts, than the shades and tones which round the extremities of objects; because the former, though exposed to the light, must have their form, relief, depth, and all the tints of nature. He instances the heads painted by Rubens and Vandyck seen in front. Pliny, had he lived in later times, might have instanced, in his turn the sweet outlines and inimitable softness of Correggio.



The Greek painters, therefore, have been supposed deficient in colouring; and this supposition has been supported by the words of Pliny: C H A P.  
XXXII.  
 “With four colours only Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus produced those immortal works, which were singly purchased by the commonwealth of cities and republics.” The colours were white, red, yellow, and black. It has been often said that with these only on his palette, a painter cannot colour like nature, far less attain the magic of the *clair obscure*. Yet a great artist of our own country thinks that four colours are sufficient for every combination required. “The fewer the colours, the cleaner, he observes, will be their effect. Two colours mixed together will not preserve the brightness of either of them single, nor will three be as bright as two<sup>64</sup>.” Pliny says, that Apelles spread over his pictures, when finished, a transparent liquid like ink, which increased the clearness and brilliancy of the whole, while it softened the glare of too florid colours. This, according to the same excellent painter, is a true and artist-like description of a scrambling or glazing, as practised by the Venetian school, and by Correggio, in whose works, as well as those mentioned by Pliny, it was perceptible only to such as closely examined the picture. He very reasonably concludes, therefore, that if the master-pieces of ancient painting remained, we should probably find them as correctly drawn as the Laocoon, and as admirably coloured as the glowing productions of Titian.

That

<sup>64</sup> See Sir Joshua Reynolds's notes on Mr. Mason's translation of Fresnoy's Art of Painting.

## CHAP.

## XXXII.

Clair ob-  
scure.

That the Greeks were acquainted with the effect of the *clair obscure*, or the distribution of all the tones of light and shade relatively to the different plans of the picture, has been denied by those who allow them the highest excellence in colouring single figures. They might excel, it has been said, in a solo, but were incapable of producing a full piece for a concert of different instruments. Whether this observation be well founded can only be discovered by carefully examining ancient authors, from whom it would appear that even in this branch the Greek painters were not deficient <sup>65</sup>.

Literary  
composition.

Xenophon.

Of all the arts cultivated during the period now under review none attained higher proficiency than composition in prose. The history of Thucydides was continued by Xenophon; but we should form a very imperfect notion of this amiable writer were we to judge him by his Grecian history, to which he seems not to have put the last hand. Yet in this, as well as in his more finished works, we see the scholar of

<sup>65</sup> In speaking of Nicias, Pliny says, "Lumen et umbras custodivit, atque ut eminentes à tabulis picturæ maxime custodivit." Unless the *clair obscure* be meant, the second member of this sentence is a pleonasm. Another passage is highly to the purpose, l. xxxv. c. xi. "Tandem se ars ipsa distinxit, et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna viæ sese excitante. Deinde adjectus est splendor, alius hic quam lumen: quem, quia inter hoc & umbram esset, appellaverunt tonon: commissuras verò colorum et transitus, harmogen." *Clair obscure* in painting is something like counterpoint in music; and if the ancients cultivated neither of them, perhaps the more substantial parts of the arts lost nothing by the neglect. In melody and design, effect and expression, they probably excelled the most boasted productions of later ages.

of Socrates ; and, of all others, the scholar CHAP. XXXII.  
 who most resembled his master in his sentiment and expression <sup>66</sup>, in the excellencies as well as <sup>His cha-  
 racter.</sup> in the respectable weakneſſes <sup>67</sup> of his character. The ſame undeviating virtue, the ſame indefatigable ſpirit, the ſame erect probity, the ſame diffuſive benevolence, the ſame credulity, the ſame enthuſiaſm, together with that unaffected propriety of thought and diction, whoſe native graces outſhine all ornaments of art.

This admirable perſonage, who, had he <sup>His mili-  
 tary expe-  
 ditions.</sup> lived before the Athenians were grown too conceited to learn, and too corrupt to mend, might have proved the ſaviour of his country, reached his fiftieth year in a happy obſcurity, enjoying the confidential ſociety of Socrates and a few ſelect friends. Of theſe Proxenus, an illuſtrious Theban exile, who well knew the worth of Xenophon, invited him to Sardis, from a deſire to introduce him to Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, and governor of Lower Aſia, whoſe friendſhip he himſelf had found more valuable than the precarious honours of his capricious and ungrateful republic. Xenophon communicated the propoſal to Socrates, who ſuſpecting that the Athenians might not re- liſh his friend's deſign, becauſe the Perſians were then allied with Sparta, deſired him to conſult

<sup>66</sup> See the deſcription which Alcibiades gives of Socrates's eloquence in Plato's Symposium.

<sup>67</sup> It is remarkable that the ſuperſtitious belief of Xenophon in celeftial warnings, of which ſee innumerable examples, particularly Anabat. l. iii. c. i. l. v. c. viii. and l. vi. c. i. never encouraged him to any thing imprudent or hurtful, and never reſtrained him from any thing uſeful or virtuous. The admonitions likewiſe of Socrates's dæmon were always the ſame with the dictates of right reaſon.



CHAP. consult the oracle of Delphi <sup>68</sup>. This counsel  
 XXXII. was but partially followed; for Xenophon, who  
 seems to have been fond of the journey, asked  
 not the oracle whether it ought to be under-  
 taken, but only by virtue of what prayers and  
 sacrifices it might be rendered successful. So-  
 crates approved not this precipitation; yet as  
 the god had answered, he thought it necessary  
 for Xenophon to obey. The important conse-  
 quences of this resolution to the Ten thousand  
 Greeks who followed the standard of Cyrus,  
 have been related in a former part of this work.  
 After his glorious retreat from Upper Asia,  
 Xenophon remained several years on the western  
 coast, and shared the victories of his admired  
 Agesilaus, with whom he returned to Greece,  
 and conquered in the battle of Coronæa.

His religi-  
 ous and  
 literary re-  
 treat.

Meanwhile a decree of banishment passed  
 against him in Athens. But having acquired  
 considerable riches in his Asiatic expedition, he  
 had deposited them at Ephesus with the Sacrif-  
 tan of Diana's temple, with this injunction,  
 that if he perished in battle, his wealth should  
 be employed in honour of the goddess. Having  
 survived the bloody engagement of Coronea,  
 which he afterwards so affectingly described in  
 his Hellenica, he settled in the town of Scilluns,  
 a new establishment formed by the Lacedæmo-  
 nians, scarce three miles distant from Olympia.  
 Megabyzus, the Sacrif of Diana, came to be-  
 hold the games, and faithfully restored his de-  
 posit, with which Xenophon, as enjoined by  
 an oracle, purchased in that neighbourhood a  
 beautiful spot of ground, watered by the Selle-  
 nus,

<sup>68</sup> Anabaf. l. v. p. 356. & seqq.

nus, a name which coincided with that of the river near Ephesus. On the banks of Elia-  
 Sellenus, Xenophon erected a temple, incom-  
 parably smaller indeed, yet similar in form to  
 the great temple of Diana. His image of the  
 goddess resembled that at Ephesus, as much as  
 a figure in cypress could resemble a statue of  
 gold. The banks of the river were planted  
 with fruit trees. The surrounding plains and  
 meadows afforded excellent pasture. The ad-  
 joining forests and mountains abounded in wild  
 boar, red deer, and other species of game.  
 There Xenophon's sons often hunted with the  
 youth of the neighbouring towns and villages;  
 and the whole inhabitants of the country round  
 were invited and entertained by him at an an-  
 nual festival sacred to Diana. A modest in-  
 scription on a marble column, erected near the  
 temple, testified the holiness of the place. "This  
 spot is dedicated to Diana. Let him, whoever  
 shall possess it, employ the tenth of its annual  
 produce in sacrifice, and the remainder in keep-  
 ing in repair, and in adorning the temple. His  
 neglect will not be overlooked by the goddess."  
 By this inscription, wherein Xenophon  
 ventures not to mention the name of the foun-  
 der, his mind seems to forebode the calamities  
 which at last befel him. In the war between  
 the Lacedæmonians and Elians, the town of  
 Scilluns, together with the circumjacent terri-  
 tory, was seized by Elia troops; and the ami-  
 able philosopher and historian, who had, in  
 this delightful retreat, composed those invalu-  
 able works, which will inspire the last ages of  
 the world with the love of virtue, was compel-  
 led,

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<sup>69</sup> Xenoph. Anabaf. l. v. p. 356. & seqq.

CHAP. led, in the decline of life, to seek refuge in the  
 XXXII. corrupt and licentious city of Corinth.

**His works.** His expedition, his Grecian history, his description of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments, have been noticed in their proper place. The *Cyropædeia*, or institutions of the elder Cyrus, is a philosophical romance, intended to exemplify the doctrines taught by Socrates in the *Memorabilia*, and to prove the success which naturally attends the practice of wisdom and virtue in the great affairs of war and government. The highest panegyric of this work is, that many learned men have mistaken it for a true history, and, deceived by the inimitable *naïveté* and persuasiveness of the narrative, have believed it possible that, during the various stages of a long life, Cyrus should have invariably followed the dictates of the sublimest philosophy. In his *Oeconomics*, Xenophon undertakes the humbler but not less useful task, of regulating the duties of domestic life. The dialogue, intituled *Hiero*, paints the misery of tyrants contrasted with the happiness of virtuous princes, in colours so lively, and in lines so expressive, that an admirer of the ancients might challenge the ingenuity of modern ages to add a single stroke to the picture. In speaking of the works of Xenophon, we must not forget his treatise on the Revenues of Athens. It was written long after his banishment. Instead of resenting the obdurate cruelty of his countrymen, he gave them most judicious and seasonable advice concerning the improvement of the public revenues, which, there is reason to believe, was in part adopted.

The



The orators Lyfias and Ifocrates flourished in the period now under review. The former was distinguished by the refined subtilty of his pleadings; the latter by the polished elegance of his moral and political orations <sup>70</sup>. Ifocrates ventured not to speak in public, neither his constitution nor his voice admitting the great exertions necessary for that purpose. His school of oratory and composition was frequented by the noblest youths of Athens, of the neighbouring republics, and even by foreign princes; and as his maxims were borrowed from the Socratic school, his long and honourable labours tended to keep alive some sparks of virtue among his degenerate countrymen <sup>71</sup>.

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The orators  
Lyfias  
and Ifo-  
crates.

But the man of learning in that age, whose abilities, if properly directed, might have most benefited his contemporaries, was the celebrated Plato, a man justly admired, yet more extraordinary than admirable. The same memorable year which produced the Peloponnesian war gave birth to Plato. He was descended from the Codridæ, the most illustrious as well as the most opulent family in Athens. His education was worthy of his birth. The gymnastic formed and invigorated his body; his mind was enlarged and enlightened by the studies of poetry <sup>72</sup> and geometry, from which he derived that acuteness of judgment, and that warmth of fancy, which, being both carried to excess, rendered him at once the most subtile and the most flowery writer of antiquity.

Plato.  
His birth  
and edu-  
cation.

<sup>70</sup> See the lives of Lyfias and Ifocrates, prefixed to my translation of their works.

<sup>71</sup> Idem, *ibid*.

<sup>72</sup> Diogen. Laert. l. ii.

**CHAP.** tiquity <sup>73</sup>. In his twentieth year he became acquainted with Socrates; and having compared his own poetical productions with those of his immortal predecessors in this walk of literature, he committed the former to the flames, and totally addicted himself to philosophy. During eight years he continued an assiduous hearer of Socrates; an occasional <sup>74</sup> indisposition prevented him from assisting at the last conversations of the sage, before he drank the fatal hemlock. Yet these conversations, as related to him by persons who were present, Plato has delivered down to the admiration of posterity; and the affecting sensibility with which he minutely describes the inimitable behaviour of Socrates, on this trying occasion, proves how deeply the author was interested in his subject.

His travels.

Fear or disgust removed the scholar of Socrates from the murderers of his master. Having spent some time in Thebes, Elis, and Megara, where he enjoyed the conversation of several of his fellow disciples, the love of knowledge carried him to Magna

<sup>73</sup> Plato's Dialogue are so different from each other, in point of thought and expression, that, if we knew not the versatility of his genius, it would be difficult to believe them the works of one man. He is over-refined, wire-drawn, and trifling in the *Cratylus*, *Parmenides*, *Meno*, *Theætetus*, and *Sophistes*. He is flowery, pompous, and tumid in his *Timæus*, *Panegyric*, *Symposium*, and *Phædrus*. But in those invaluable writings, the *Apology*, *Crito*, *Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, *Phædo*, and the greater part of his books of laws, in which he adheres to the doctrines of Socrates, and indulges, without art or affectation, the natural bent of his own genius, his style is inimitably sweet and attractive, always elegant, and often sublime. His *Republic*, which is generally considered as his greatest work, abounds in all the beauties, and in all the deformities, for which he is remarkable. See *Dionys. Halicarn. de Platon.*

<sup>74</sup> Πλατων δὲ (οὐκ) ἤσθην. *Phædo*, 2.

Magna Græcia; from thence he sailed to Cyrené, CHAP. attracted by the fame of the mathematician The- XXXII. odoros; Egypt next deserved his curiosity, as the country to which the science of Theodoros owed its birth, and from which the Pythagoreans in Magna Græcia derived several tenets of their philosophy.

At his return to Athens, Plato could have little <sup>He settles in the</sup> inclination to engage in public life. The days <sup>academy.</sup> were past when the virtues of a Solon, or of a Lycurgus, could reform the manners of their countrymen. In early periods of society, the example and influence of one able and disinterested man may produce a happy revolution in the community of which he is a member. But in the age of Plato, the Athenians had fallen into dotage and imbecillity. His luxuriant fancy compares them sometimes to old men, who have outlived their senses, and with whom it is vain to reason; sometimes to wild beasts, whom it is dangerous to approach; sometimes to an unfruitful soil, that choaks every useful plant, and produces weeds only <sup>75</sup>. He prudently withdrew himself from a scene, which presented nothing but danger or disgust, and purchased a small villa in the suburbs near the academy or gymnasium, that had been so elegantly adorned by Cimon <sup>76</sup>. To this retirement, his fame attracted the most illustrious characters in his age: the noblest youths of Athens daily frequented the school of Plato; and here he continued above forty years, with little interruption except from his voyages into Sicily, instructing his disciples, and composing his Dialogues, to which the most distinguished philosophers

<sup>75</sup> Republic, l. vi. p. 38.

<sup>76</sup> See above, vol. i. chap. xii.



**CHAP.** phers in ancient and modern times are greatly indebted, without excepting those who reject his doctrines, and affect to treat them as visionary.

**General  
character  
of his phi-  
losophy.**

The capacious mind of Plato embraced the whole circle of science. The objects of human thought had, previously to his age, been reduced, by the Pythagoreans, to certain classes or genera<sup>77</sup>; the nature of truth had been investigated; and men had distinguished the relations<sup>78</sup>, which the predicate of any proposition can bear to its subject. The sciences had already been divided into the natural and moral; or, in the language of Plato, into the knowledge of divine and human things. The frivolous art of syllogism was not as yet invented; and the logic of Plato<sup>79</sup> was confined to the more useful subjects of definition and

<sup>77</sup> Many less perfect divisions had probably been made before Archytas of Tarentum distinguished the ten Categories. Simplicius & Jamblichus apud Fr. Patricium. *Discuss. Peripatet.* t. ii. p. 182. This division, the most perfect of any that philosophers have yet been able to discover, Plato learned from Archytas. It consisted in substances and modes. The former are either primary, as all individual substances, which neither are in any other subject, nor can be predicated of it; or secondary, which subsist in the first, and can be predicated of them, to wit, the genera and species of substances. Of modes there are nine kinds, quantity, quality, relation, habit, time, place, having, doing, and suffering. *Aristot. de Categor.*

<sup>78</sup> These are called by logicians the five Predicables, or, more properly, the five classes of Predicates. They are the genus, species, specific difference, property, and accident. The use of these distinctions is universal in every subject requiring definition and division; yet if meant to comprehend whatever may be affirmed of any subject, the enumeration is doubtless incomplete.

<sup>79</sup> The science properly called Logic was invented by Aristotle; the division of the sciences into Logic, Physica, and Ethics, was first given by his contemporary Xenocrates. *Vid. Brucker. de Aristot. & Xenocrat.* Of Aristotle more hereafter.

and division, by means of which he attempted to fix and ascertain not only the practical doctrines of morals and politics, but the abstruse and shadowy speculations of mystical theology. It is much to be regretted that this great and original genius should have mistaken the proper objects as well as the natural limits of the human understanding, and that most of the enquiries of Plato and his successors should appear extremely remote from the public transactions of the times in which they lived. Yet the speculations in which they were engaged, how little soever they may be connected with the political revolutions of Greece, seem too interesting in themselves to be entirely omitted in this historical work, especially when it is considered that the philosophy of Plato and his disciples has been very widely diffused among all the civilised nations of the world; that during many centuries, it governed with uncontrouled sway the opinions of the speculative part of mankind; and that the same philosophy still influences the reasonings, and divides the sentiments, of the learned in modern Europe.

The lively, but immethodical, manner in which the opinions of Plato are explained by himself, renders it difficult to collect and abridge them. The great number of interlocutors in his dialogues, the irony of Socrates, and the continual intermixture of Plato's own sentiments with those of his master, heighten the difficulty, and make it impossible, from particular passages, to judge of the scope and tendency of the whole. The works of Xenophon, however, may enable a diligent student to separate the pure ore of Socrates from the adventitious matter with which it is combined in the rich vein of Platonism; and by carefully comparing the different parts of the

Difficulty of explaining and abridging his doctrines.

latter,

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I

CHAP. latter, he may with certainty determine the principal designs of its author.

The great views of that philosopher.

From this view of the subject, it would appear that Plato aimed at nothing less, than to reconcile the appearances of the natural and moral world with the wise government of a self-existent unchangeable cause; to explain the nature and origin of the human mind, as well as of its various powers of perception, volition, and intellect; and, on principles resulting from these discoveries, to build a system of Ethics, which, in proportion as it were followed by mankind, would promote not only their independence and security in the present world, but their happiness and perfection in a future state of existence.

His theology.

Let us look where we will around us, we shall every-where, said Plato, perceive a passing procession<sup>80</sup>: the objects which compose the material world, arise, change, perish, and are succeeded by others, which undergo the same revolutions<sup>81</sup>. One body moves another, which impels a third, and so forwards in succession; but the first cause of motion resides not in any of them. This cause acts not fortuitously; the regular motions of the heavenly bodies<sup>82</sup>, the beautiful order of the seasons, the admirable structure of plants and animals, announce an intelligent Author<sup>83</sup>. It is difficult by searching to find out the nature of the Divinity,

<sup>80</sup> This was borrowed from Heraclitus, who expressed the same idea, by saying, that all corporeal things were in a perpetual flux. Vid. Platon. in Theætet. p. 83. & in Sophist. p. 108.

<sup>81</sup> Timæus, sub initio.

<sup>82</sup> By these he meant the fixed stars; the motions of the planets he ascribed to another cause, as will appear below.

<sup>83</sup> Plato de Legibus, l. x. p. 609.



Divinity, and impossible by words to describe it ; CHAP. XXXII.  
 yet the works which he has done, attest his power, his wisdom, and his goodness to be greater than human imagination can conceive<sup>84</sup>. In the self-existent cause, these attributes must unite. He is therefore unchangeable<sup>85</sup>, since no alteration can increase his perfections, and it would be absurd to suppose him ever inclined to diminish them<sup>86</sup>.

Impelled by his goodness, the Deity, viewing Cosmo- in his own intellect the ideas or archetypes of all gony- possible existence, formed the beautiful arrangement of the universe from that rude indigested matter, which, existing from all eternity, had been for ever animated by an irregular principle of motion<sup>87</sup>. This principle, which Plato calls the irrational soul of the world, he thought sufficiently attested, in the innumerable deviations from the established laws of nature, in the extravagant passions of men, and in the physical and moral evil, which, in consequence of these deviations and passions, so visibly prevail in the world. Without admitting a certain stubborn intractability, and disorderly wildness, essential to matter, and therefore incapable of being entirely eradicated or subdued, it seemed impossible to explain the origin of evil under the government of Deity<sup>88</sup>.

I 2

From

<sup>84</sup> Timæus, p. 477. & de Repub. l. ii. p. 144.

<sup>85</sup> For the immutability of the Deity, Plato, contrary to his general custom, condescends to use an argument from induction, "Even of material things, the most perfect least feel the effects of time, and remain longest unaltered." De Repub. p. 150.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. p. 150.

<sup>87</sup> Politic. p. 120, & seqq. & Timæus, passim.

<sup>88</sup> De Legibus, l. x. p. 608. Philem. p. 160.

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Plato's  
doctrine  
of ideas.

From these rude materials, God, according to the fanciful doctrine of Plato, formed the four elements, and built the beautiful structure of the heavens and the earth, after the model of those eternal exemplars<sup>89</sup>, or patterns, which subsist in

<sup>89</sup> These exemplars, or *παράδειγματα*, are the *ideas* of Plato, which were so much misrepresented by many of the later Platonists, or Eclectics. He names them, indifferently, *ιδεας*, *εἰδη*, *εἰκονας*, *τα κατὰ ταυτα*, & *ὁμοιουτας εχοντα*. The two last expressions are used to distinguish them from the fleeting and perishable forms of matter. Plato represents these ideas as existing in the divine intellect, as beings entirely mental, not objects of any of the senses, and not circumscribed by place or time. By the first universal Cause, these ideas were infused into the various species of created beings, in whom (according to Ammonius in Porphyr. Introduct. p. 29.) they existed, as the impression of a seal exists in the wax to which it has been applied. In its pre-existent state, the human mind viewed these *intelligible* forms in their original seat, the field of truth. But since men were imprisoned in the body, they receive these ideas from external objects, as explained in the text. Such is the doctrine of Plato. But many of the later Platonists, and even several writers of the present age, have imagined that he ascribed to ideas a separate and independent existence. Vid. Brucker. *Histor. Philosoph.* p. 695. & seqq. Gedike *Histor. Philosoph.* ex Ciceron. collect. p. 183, & seqq. Monboddo, *Origin of Language*, vol. i. c. ix. Of all the absurdities embraced by philosophers, this doubtless would be the greatest, to believe eternal unchangeable patterns of the various genera and species of things existing apart, and independent of the mind by which these abstract notions are conceived. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that many writers of the Alexandrian school, whose extravagant fancies could fix and embody metaphysical abstractions, and realise intellectual ideas, should animate and personify the *λογον τε θεον*, the divine intellect, in which, according to Plato, these ideas resided, and from which they were communicated to other intelligences. The same visionary fanatics who discovered, in the *λογος* of Plato, the second person of the Trinity, recognised the Holy Spirit in his Soul of the World; but as this irrational principle of motion ill corresponded to the third person of the Godhead, they invented

in the divine Intelligence<sup>90</sup>. Considering that CHAP. beings possessed of mental powers were far prefer- XXXII. able to those destitute of such faculties, God infused into the corporeal world a rational soul, which, as it could not be immediately combined with body, he united to the active, but irrational principle, essentially inherent in matter<sup>91</sup>. Having thus formed and animated the earth, the sun, the moon, and the other visible divinities, the great Father of spirits proceeded to create the invisible gods and dæmons<sup>92</sup>, whose nature and history Plato describes with a respectful reverence for the religion of his country<sup>93</sup>. After finishing this great work, the God of gods again contemplating the ideal forms in his own mind, perceived there the exemplars of three species of beings, which he realised in the mortal inhabitants of the earth, air, and water. The task of forming these sensible, but rational beings, he committed to the inferior divinities; because, had this last work likewise proceeded from his own hands, it must have been immortal like the gods<sup>94</sup>. The souls of men, on the other hand, he himself formed from the remainder of the rational soul of the world. They first existed in the state of dæmons, only invested with a thin æthereal body. Having offended God by neglecting their duty, they were condemned

invented an hyper-cosmian soul, concerning which Plato is altogether silent. See the *Encyclopedie*, article *Eclésiastique*. Brucker. *Hist. Philosoph.* vol. i. p. 712, & seqq. & Meiner's *Beytrag zur geschichte der denkart der ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christi geburt in einigen betrachtungen über die neu Platonische Philosophie*.

<sup>90</sup> *Timæus*, *Polit.* l. vi.

<sup>91</sup> *Ib.* p. 477, & seqq.

<sup>92</sup> *Timæus*, p. 480.

<sup>93</sup> *Apolog. Socratis*.

<sup>94</sup> *Timæus*, p. 480, & 481.



CHAP. condemned to unite with the gross corporeal  
 XXXII. mass, by which their divine faculties are so much  
 clogged and encumbered <sup>95</sup>.

Plato's  
 morals.

It was necessary briefly to explain the metaphysical theology of Plato, how visionary soever it may appear, because the doctrine of ideal forms, together with that of the pre-existent state of the human mind, are the main pillars of his philosophy. Before their incarceration in the body, the souls of men enjoyed the presence of their Maker, and contemplated the unchangeable ideas and essences of things in the field of truth. In viewing and examining these eternal archetypes of order, beauty, and virtue, consisted the noblest energy, and highest perfection of celestial spirits <sup>96</sup>, which, being emanations of the Deity, can never rest satisfied with objects and occupations unworthy their divine original. But in their actual state, men can perceive with their corporeal senses, only the fleeting images and imperfect representations of these immutable essences of things, in the fluctuating objects of the material world, which are so little steady and permanent, that they often change their nature and properties, even while we view and examine them <sup>97</sup>. Beside this, our senses themselves are liable to innumerable disorders; and unless we are constantly on the watch, never fail to deceive us <sup>98</sup>. Hence the continual errors in our judgments of men and things; hence the improper ends we pursue; hence the very inadequate means by which we seek to attain them; hence, in one word, all the errors and misery of life.

<sup>95</sup> Timæus, p. 480, & 481.

<sup>96</sup> Repub. l. vi. Phædrus, Philebus, &c.

<sup>97</sup> Phædo, Timæus, &c.

<sup>98</sup> Phædo, p. 31. & Repub. l. v.

life. Yet even in this degraded state, to which CHAP. men were condemned for past offences, their hap- XXXII. piness ceases not to be an object of care to the Deity. As none can rise so high, none can sink so low, as to escape the eye and arm of the Almighty<sup>99</sup>. The divine Providence observes and regulates the meanest, as well as the greatest, of its productions. But the good of the part being subordinate to that of the whole, it is necessary that each individual should be rewarded or punished, in proportion as he fulfils the task assigned him. It is by the performance of his duty alone, than man can regain the favour of his Maker<sup>100</sup>; for it is ridiculous to think that this inestimable benefit can be purchased by rich presents, and expensive sacrifices. Religion cannot be a traffic of interest<sup>101</sup>. What can we offer to the gods, which they have not first bestowed on us? Will they thank us for restoring their own gifts? It is absurd to think it. To please the Divinity, we must obey his will concerning us; nor can we comply with the purpose of our creation, and fulfil our destiny, without aspiring at those noble powers with which we were originally endowed<sup>102</sup>; and which, even in our present degenerate state, it is still possible, by proper diligence, to recover<sup>103</sup>.

Our senses give us information of external ob- His ac-  
jects, which are stored up in the memory, and count of  
variously combined by the imagination<sup>104</sup>. But the origin  
it of human  
know-  
ledge.

<sup>99</sup> De Legibus.

<sup>100</sup> Eutyphron.

<sup>101</sup> Repub. l. ii. p. 100, & seqq.

<sup>102</sup> Minos, p. 510. Timæus, p. 500.

<sup>103</sup> Repub. l. v.

<sup>104</sup> Theatet. p. 85, & seqq. & Philem. 184, & seqq.

CHAP. it is remarkable that those ideas, thus acquired  
 XXXII. and retained, have the power of suggesting others  
 far more accurate and perfect than themselves,  
 and which, though excited by material objects,  
 cannot be derived from them, unless (which is  
 impossible) the effect were more beautiful and  
 perfect than the cause. That we possessed, in a  
 pre-existent state, those ideas which modern phi-  
 losophers refer by an easy solution to the powers  
 of generalization and abstraction<sup>105</sup>, Plato thought  
 evident from the facility with which we recalled  
 them<sup>106</sup>. Of this he gave an example in Meno's  
 slave, who, when properly questioned by Socrates,  
 easily recollected and explained many properties  
 of numbers and figures, although he had never  
 learned the sciences of arithmetic and geome-  
 try<sup>107</sup>. According to Plato, therefore, all science  
 consisted in reminiscence, in recalling the nature,  
 proportions, and relations of those uniform and  
 unchangeable essences, about which the human  
 mind had originally been conversant, and after  
 the model of which all created things were  
 made<sup>108</sup>. These intellectual forms, comprehend-  
 ing the true essences of things, were the only pro-  
 per objects of solid and permanent science<sup>109</sup>;  
 their

<sup>105</sup> The ancients were not ignorant of this philosophy. Simplicius, speaking of the origin of intelligible forms, or ideas, in the human mind, says, *ἡμεῖς ἀφελόντες αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχικαῖς ἐννοιαῖς κατὰ ἑαυτὰ ὑπάρχομεν*: "We ourselves, abstracting them in our thoughts, have, by this abstraction, given them an existence in themselves." Simp. in Præd. p. 17.

<sup>106</sup> Menon. p. 344.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Repub. l. vi.

<sup>109</sup> *Ἐπιστήμη*, science, in opposition to *δόξα*, opinion. The material world he called *τὸ δόξαρον*, that of which the know-  
 ledge



their fluctuating representatives in the material world, the actions and virtues of men, the order and beauty visible in the universe, were only so far

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ledge admitted of probability only. Republ. l. v. The *ideas* of Plato, which, according to that philosopher, formed the sole objects of real and certain knowledge, were powerfully combated by his scholar and rival Aristotle. Yet the latter, who was so sharp-sighted to the faults of Plato, never accuses him of maintaining the separate and independent existence of intellectual forms. The obscure passage in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, p. 201, which has been construed into such an accusation, means nothing more, than that Socrates regarded the *τα καθ' ἑαυτὴν*, general ideas, as differing in no respect from our notions of the genera and species of things; whereas Plato made a distinction between them, asserting these ideas to have existed in the divine intellect before the creation, &c. as explained in the text. Aristotle discusses the doctrine of ideas more perspicuously in his *Ethics*, to Nicomachus, li. c. vi. He regards them as mere fictions of the fancy, and the knowledge founded on them as altogether visionary. "The idea of good," he observed, "might be applied to substances, as the Deity, the mind of man; to qualities, as the virtues; to quantity, as mediocrity; to time, as the juncture or nick of time; in short, through all the categories. There is not, therefore, any one general idea of good, common to all these. Were there one idea, the same in all, there could be but one science respecting it. But there are many, physic, gymnastic, the military art, &c. which all have some good in view. Things are good in themselves, or good as means to an end. But even those things which are ultimately good, as wisdom, honour, pleasure, are not comprehended under any one definition of good, though distinguished by the same epithet from some analogy or resemblance, as the understanding is called the eye of the mind. If there is any such general idea, it is surely incapable of being applied to any practical use; not as a model, otherwise the arts and sciences, all of which have some good in view, would continually have this model before them. Yet they all neglect it, and justly; for what benefit could they derive from this abstract idea? A physician, for instance, contemplates not health in that general manner, but the health of man, or rather of a particular man, who happens to be his patient: for with individuals only his art is concerned."

CHAP. far real and substantial as they corresponded to  
 XXXII. their divine archetypes<sup>110</sup>; but as this correspondence never became complete, the examination of the perishing objects of sense could only afford us unsteady and uncertain notions, fleeting and fugitive like themselves<sup>111</sup>. From these observations, Plato thought it evident, that the duty and happiness of men consisted in withdrawing themselves from the material, and approaching the intellectual world<sup>112</sup>, to which their own natures were more congenial. To promote this purpose was the great aim of his philosophy. If we were deceived by the senses, he observed, that we were still more fatally endangered by the passions, those flimsy sails of the mind, which were expanded and agitated by every varying gust of imagined good or evil<sup>113</sup>. The pains and pleasures of the body were all of a mixed kind, and nearly allied to each other. The God who arranged the world, desirous to unite and incorporate these seemingly opposite natures, had at least joined their summits; for pleasure was nothing else but a rapid cessation of pain; and the liveliest of our bodily enjoyments were preceded by uneasiness, and followed by languor<sup>114</sup>. To illustrate the necessity of governing with a strong hand the appetites and passions, Plato compared the soul to a little republic, composed of different faculties, or orders<sup>115</sup>. The judging, or reasoning faculty, justly entitled to the supremacy, was seated, as in a firm citadel, in the head; the senses were

Of the  
 powers of  
 percep-  
 tion and  
 intellect.

<sup>110</sup> Parmen. p. 140.

<sup>111</sup> Repub. l. vii.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. p. 134. & Phæd. p. 26.

<sup>113</sup> Phædrus.

<sup>114</sup> Phæd. Philem. & Repub. l. ii. p. 262, & seqq.

<sup>115</sup> Repub. l. iv.

were its guards and servants; the various desires C H A P.  
and affections were bound to pay it obedience. XXXII.

Of these desires, which were all of them the Of the  
natural subjects of the ruling faculty, Plato distin- passions.  
guished two orders, ever ready to rebel against  
their master. The first consisted of those passions  
which are founded in pride and resentment, or in  
what the schoolmen called the irascible part of  
the soul <sup>116</sup>; and were seated in the breast. The  
second consisted of those passions which are found-  
ed in the love of pleasure, or in what the school-  
men called the concupiscible <sup>117</sup> part of the soul,  
and were seated in the belly, and inferior parts  
of the body. These different orders, though com-  
monly at variance with each other, were alike  
dangerous to the public interest, and unless re-  
strained by the wisdom and authority of their  
sovereign, must inevitably plunge the little re-  
public of man into the utmost disorder and  
misery <sup>118</sup>.

Yet, according to Plato, both these sets of pas- Of the  
sions were, in the present state of things, neces- virtues;  
sary parts of our constitution; and, when pro- and wis-  
perly regulated, became very useful subjects. The dom the  
irascible asserted our rank and dignity, defended greatest  
us against injuries, and, when duly informed and virtue.  
tempered by reason, taught us with becoming  
fortitude to despise dangers and death, in pursuit  
of what is honourable and virtuous. The con-  
cupiscible provided for the support and necessities  
of

<sup>116</sup> The *το θυμωδες*, of Plato.

<sup>117</sup> The *Το επιθυμητικόν* of Plato. Both are included under  
what Plato and Aristotle call the *αἰσθητικόν*, the seat of the  
desires and passions.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p. 254.



CHAP. of the body; and, when reduced to such sub-  
 XXXII. mission as to reject every gratification not ap-  
 proved by reason, gave rise to the virtue of tem-  
 perance. Justice took place, according to Plato, when reason directed and passion obeyed, and when each passion performed its proper office, and acknowledged due respect towards its superior. In the strength, acuteness, and perfection of the ruling faculty, consisted the virtue of prudence, the great source and principle of all other virtues, without which temperance, fortitude, and even justice itself, were nothing but empty shadows, that deluded the ignorant vulgar. In the exercise of prudence or wisdom, man resembled his Maker, and contemplated those intellectual forms, which taught him to discern with certainty the ends proper to be pursued, and the means necessary to attain them. The wise man compares the mind with the body, eternity with time, virtue with pleasure. He thus learns to despise the inferior parts of his nature, to defy its pains, to disdain its pleasure. Without attaining this true elevation of mind, he never can be virtuous or happy, since whoever depends on the body, must consider death as an evil, the fear of which can only be overcome by some greater terror; so that in him who is not truly wise, fortitude itself must be the effect of timidity<sup>119</sup>. In the same manner, his pretended moderation and temperance will spring from the impure source of the opposite vices. He will deny himself some pleasures, to attain others which he regards as more valuable, and will submit to small pains to avoid the greater<sup>120</sup>. He thus continues through life, ex-  
 changing

<sup>119</sup> *Repub.* l. vi.

<sup>120</sup> *Phædo*, p. 26, & seqq.

changing one trifle for another; a traffic which never can enrich him, while he rejects wisdom, the only precious merchandise. CHAP.  
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But the temple of wisdom is, according to Plato, situate on a rock, which few men have the strength to ascend <sup>121</sup>. This difference of ability proceeds from various causes: 1. At their creation, all minds were not alike excellent and perfect <sup>122</sup>. 2. They were not alike criminal during their pre-existent state <sup>123</sup>. 3. The gross bodies which they now inhabit are variously moulded, some being too strong, others too weak, and very few in just harmony with the divine principle by which they are animated <sup>124</sup>. 4. Early institution and example occasion great differences among them. Such, indeed, is the power of education and habit, that the errors and crimes of men are less chargeable on those who commit them, than on their parents, guardians, and instructors <sup>125</sup>; and it seems hardly possible for those who have the misfortune to be born in a licentious age and country, to attain wisdom and virtue. Even when the most favourite circumstances unite, the mind must still, however, have a tendency to degenerate, while united with matter <sup>126</sup>. The body, therefore, must be continually exercised and subdued by the gymnastic, the soul must be purified and ennobled by philosophy. Without such attention, men can neither reach the perfection of their nature, or, when they have reached

<sup>121</sup> Repub. l. vi. p. 74.

<sup>122</sup> Phædrus.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Timæus.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. p. 484. & Repub. passim.

CHAP. reached it, maintain that elevated post, from  
 XXXII. which they look down with compassion on the  
 errors and misery of their fellow-creatures <sup>127</sup>.

Plato's  
 sage.

Immorta-  
 lity of the  
 soul.

State of  
 retribu-  
 tion.

In the description of his imaginary sage, Plato employs the colours which were afterwards borrowed by the Stoics and Epicureans. But neither of these sects, as will appear hereafter, were so well entitled as the Platonists, to boast their philosophical happiness, and to assert their superiority to the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Plato was the first philosopher who supported the doctrine of a future state, by arguments that seemed capable to convince intelligent and thinking men. From the properties of mind, he inferred the simplicity and indestructibility of the substance in which they reside <sup>128</sup>. He described the mental powers with an eloquence that Cicero <sup>129</sup> and Buffon <sup>130</sup> have not been able to surpass. And since he regarded the soul as the principle of life and motion, he thought it absurd to suppose that the diseases and death of the body should take from this principle such qualities as it essentially possessed in itself, and accidentally communicated to matter <sup>131</sup>. It was his firm persuasion, that according to the employment of its rational and moral powers, the soul, after its separation from the body, would be raised to a higher, or depressed to a lower state of existence <sup>132</sup>.

This

<sup>127</sup> Timæus, p. 484. & Repub. passim.

<sup>128</sup> Phædo, p. 25, & seqq.

<sup>129</sup> See Cicer. de Offic. l. i. & passim.

<sup>130</sup> Buffon sur l'Homme.

<sup>131</sup> Phædo.

<sup>132</sup> Phædrus, & Phædo, passim.



This belief, which raised his hopes to a higher scene, gave him not, however, that contempt, affected by a very different class of philosophers, for the perishing affairs<sup>133</sup> of the present world. Like some others of the scholars of Socrates, he traced the plan of a perfect commonwealth; though his work, known by that title, as has been justly observed by a great genius<sup>134</sup>, is rather a treatise of education than a system of policy. The real republic of Plato is contained in his books of laws, in which he explains, with no less acuteness than elegance, the origin and revolutions of civil society, and traces the plan of a republic nearly resembling the Spartan model.

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His re-  
public.

His practical morality, which he borrowed from Socrates, is profusely scattered through his dialogues; and in his own times, Plato was not considered as that visionary speculatist which he has appeared to later ages. His scholars, Aristonymus, Phormio, and Eudoxus, were successively sent by him to regulate the republics of the Arcadians, Elians, and Cnidians<sup>135</sup>, at the earnest request of those communities. From Xenocrates, another of his disciples, Alexander desired rules for good government<sup>136</sup>. The fame of Aristotle is well known; and it will afterwards appear how much he was indebted to a master, whose opinions he often combated with seeming reluctance, and real satisfaction. Plato was no less capable to distinguish ideas than to combine images. He united

Genius  
and cha-  
racter of  
Plato.<sup>133</sup> The Epicureans.

"Non res humanæ, perituraque regna."

GEORG.

Of this more below.

<sup>134</sup> Rousseau in his *Emile*.<sup>135</sup> Plutarch. *advers. Colot. Epicur.*<sup>136</sup> *Idem, ibid.*

**CHAP.** united warmth of fancy, and acuteness of understanding, in a greater degree than perhaps has fallen to the share of any other man. Yet when compared with his master Socrates, his genius will appear more subtle than sagacious. He wanted that patient spirit of observation which distinguished the illustrious sage, who in all his reasonings kept facts ever in his view, and at every step he made, looked back with wary circumspection on experience. Accompanied by this faithful guide, Socrates trod securely within the bounds of truth and nature; but his adventurous disciple, trusting to the wings of fancy, often expatiates in imaginary worlds of his own creation.

**CHAP.**

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*History of Macedon.—Reign of Archelaus.—Series of Usurpations and Revolutions.—Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.—Distracted State of Macedon.—First Transactions of Philip.—State of Thrace and Pæonia.—Philip defeats Argæus and the Athenians.—His Treatment of the Prisoners.—His Military Arrangements.—He defeats the Illyrians.—His designs against Amphipolis.—He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus.—Amuses the Athenians.—Takes Amphipolis.—His Conquests in Thrace.—The Mines of Crenidæ.—Philip marries Olympias.—His Letter to Aristotle.*

**F**OUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguishable from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Pæonia, and Illyricum, which surrounded it on the north, east, and west. Towards the south it was excluded from the sea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the most flourishing and powerful. To this inland district, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty<sup>1</sup> in most communities of Greece<sup>2</sup>, conducted a small colony

C H A P.  
XXXIII.

The kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus.

A.C. 814.

VOL. III.

K

lony

<sup>1</sup> Justin. l. vii. c. i. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. vi.<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. ch. iii.



CHAP. lony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen,  
 XXXIII. and, having conquered the barbarous natives, settled in Edeffa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reasons equally unknown<sup>3</sup>. The establishment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, swelled into the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe historic flattery) by many extraordinary circumstances, presaging its future greatness. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and sent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edeffa, which thence changed its name to Ægæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reason why goats were adopted as the ensigns of Macedon, and why the figures of those animals are still to be seen on the coins of Philip, and those of his successors.

Prudent conduct of its first kings the primary cause of the greatness of Macedon. Caranus, as well as the princes Coenus<sup>4</sup> and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occasion to exercise their prudence still more than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an easy prey to the inhospitable ferocity of the barbarous tribes, by whom it was on all sides surrounded. But the policy of the first kings of Macedon, instead of vainly attempting to repel or to subdue, endeavoured, with more success, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring districts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many useful<sup>5</sup> arts; they gave them the Grecian

<sup>3</sup> Crophius Antiquit. Macedon.

<sup>4</sup> Justin. ubi supra. Syncell. Chronic.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias Achaic. & Thucyd. l. ii.

Grecian religion <sup>6</sup> and government <sup>7</sup> in that state CHAP.  
 of happy simplicity which prevailed during the XXXIII.  
 heroic ages; and while, to render intercourse  
 more easy and familiar, they adopted, in some  
 degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they, in their turn, imparted to the  
 latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility <sup>8</sup>. By this judicious and liberal system, so  
 unlike to that pursued by their countrymen in  
 other parts of the world, the followers of Caranus  
 gradually associated with the warlike tribes in their  
 neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike  
 impossible for them to extirpate or to enslave;  
 and the same generous policy, being embraced by  
 their descendants, deserves to be regarded as the  
 primary cause of Macedonian greatness.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed  
 the fame of his three predecessors, that he is ac-  
 counted the founder of the monarchy by Herodo-  
 tus <sup>9</sup> and Thucydides <sup>10</sup>. His history has been  
 magnified by fable, which has also obscured or  
 distorted the actions of the five princes <sup>11</sup> that in-  
 tervened between him and Alexander I. who filled  
 the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded  
 Greece <sup>12</sup>. Here we attain historic ground. Alex-  
 ander,

Transacti-  
 ons of the  
 Macedo-  
 nians pre-  
 ceding the  
 reign of  
 Arche-  
 laus I.  
 A. C. 713  
 —416.

K 2

<sup>6</sup> Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Φιλιππῶν μὲν παίδι, Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γένους, ὅτε οἱ προγονοὶ ἐξ Ἀργεῖος ὡς Μακεδόνων ἦλθεν, καὶ διὰ ἑτέρας αἰτίας, Μακεδόνων ἀρχόντες διετίθεντο. Arrian, l. iv. p. 86. In another passage of the same book he says, the subjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

<sup>8</sup> Demosthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

<sup>9</sup> Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii.

<sup>10</sup> Thucyd. l. ii. p. 168.

<sup>11</sup> Argæus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetas, Amyntas I. Justin. l. vii. c. ii.

<sup>12</sup> Herodot. l. v. c. xix.

CHAP. ander, as related above <sup>13</sup>, took an important and  
 XXXIII. honourable part in the affairs of Greece and  
 Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own  
 kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus  
 on the east, and to the Axios on the west. His  
 son, Perdiccas II. inherited the abilities of his fa-  
 ther, without inheriting his integrity. During  
 the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince  
 formed an object of important concern to the  
 Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the  
 cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own,  
 because the Athenians, who had occasionally levi-  
 ed tribute on his ancestors <sup>14</sup>, were then masters of  
 the Greek settlements along the Macedonian  
 coast, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the  
 ambition of Perdiccas. Under the specious pre-  
 tence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of  
 Chalcidicé to recover their independence, he lent  
 his aid to destroy the Athenian influence there,  
 expecting to establish the Macedonian in its stead.  
 But this design failed of success. The Olynthian  
 confederacy was broken, its members became  
 subject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that  
 republic had encouraged the Olynthians to resume  
 their freedom, they felt themselves sufficiently  
 powerful not only to resist the encroachments of  
 Macedon, but to make considerable conquests in  
 that country <sup>15</sup>.

The state of Macedon greatly improved by that prince. Archelaus I. who succeeded to the throne, displayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like those princes, Archelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions (having  
 A. C. 416  
 —410.

<sup>13</sup> Vol. i. ch. x.

<sup>14</sup> Thucyd. ubi supra, & Demosthenes passim.

<sup>15</sup> See above, vol. ii. c. xxix.



(having conquered Pydna and other towns in the delightful region of Pieria<sup>16</sup>); but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication between the principal towns of Macedon, by cutting straight roads through most parts of the country; he built walls and places of strength in the situations most favourable for that purpose; encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly those subservient to war; formed magazines of arms; raised and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the solid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by all his predecessors together<sup>17</sup>. Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earnestly solicited to live there after the example of this philosophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cherished by his friendship: Men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and science, were invited to reside in Macedon, and treated with distinguished regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happiness of his subjects<sup>18</sup>.

A reign of six years was too short a period for accomplishing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the prosperity of Macedon was interrupted for almost half a century, crowded A. C. 405  
—360.

<sup>16</sup> Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

<sup>17</sup> Thucydides says, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the first. Αρχιλαος οι Περδικκας υιος, Βασιλευς γινομενος τα τυχη του οντα εν τη χωρα αποδομησι, και οδus ευθειας ετιμει, και ταλλα διανοσμησι ταυτε κατα τον πολεμον ιπποις και οπλοις και τη αλλη παρασκευη κρισσονται η ζυμπαντις οι αλλοι Βασιλεις οκτω οι προ αυτου γινομενοι. Thucydides, p. 168.

<sup>18</sup> Arist. Rhetor. l. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermon. 237.

**CHAP. XXXIII.** crowded by a succession of ten <sup>19</sup> princes or usurpers, whose history is a perpetual series of crimes and calamities. Amidst these disorders, the sceptre still remained in the family of Hercules; but almost every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpose, the different competitors courted the assistance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Thessalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of those powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the dissensions in Macedon. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity <sup>20</sup> in dividing the spoil, had risen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, dispossessed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and A.C. 385. placed Argæus on the throne, who consented to become the tributary of his benefactor <sup>21</sup>. The Thracians

<sup>19</sup> Their names, with the dates of their accession or usurpation, are as follows :

1 Orestes,	A. C. 405
2 Æropus II.	402
3 Archelaus II.	394
4 Amyntas II.	392
5 Pausanias,	391
Amyntas II.	390
6 Argæus II.	385
Amyntas again re-established,	383
7 Alexander II.	372
8 Perdiccas III.	371
9 Ptolemy,	370
Perdiccas,	368
Ptolemy,	367
Perdiccas,	365
10 Amyntas,	360

To him Philip succeeded in the same year.

<sup>20</sup> Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

<sup>21</sup> Diodor. l. xiv. c. xcii.

Thracians supported the title of another prince CHAP. named Pausanias : but the assistance of Thessaly XXXIII. and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to resume the government ; the Olynthians refusing, however, A.C. 383. to surrender several places of importance which Amyntas had entrusted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor. Amyntas complained to Sparta, and that republic, for reasons above <sup>22</sup> related, declared war against Olynthus, and reinstated the Macedonian king in full possession of his dominions. A. C. 380. In consequence of that event Amyntas established, and thenceforth held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed several years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendship of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The short reign of his son Alexander was The usur- disturbed by a fresh invasion of the Illyrians, per Pau- from whom he purchased a precarious peace <sup>23</sup>. sanias. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the eldest was still a minor. Availing himself of *their* youth and weakness, Pausanias found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this Dethroned critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the by Iphi- recovery of which formed the main object of crates at his expedition. In former journeys to the coast the entrea- of Thrace, he had been treated with distin- ty of guished regard by Amyntas, whose widow Eu- Eurydicé. rydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates A. C. 370. for

<sup>22</sup> See vol. ii. c. xxix.

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus & Justin. ubi supra.



**CHAP.** for the sons of his friend. This princess was  
**XXXIII.** descended from the Bacchiadæ, the noblest family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lyncestæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the most western district of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was distinguished by a bold intriguing spirit <sup>24</sup> still more than by her beauty and accomplishments. With her young sons she suddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the supplicating form of calamity and woe; presented the eldest to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him by "the sincere friendship which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himself, to pity their tender years, oppressed by cruel usurpation." The dignity of her sorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who respected the sacred ties of hospitality, and who saw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an interest in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he established Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with such rapidity <sup>25</sup>, that we may suppose a sudden insurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accustomed, as in the heroic ages, to assemble in arms.

**Ptolemy** During the minority of the young prince the  
 dethroned kingdom was governed by his natural brother  
 by Pelopidas, whose ambition, unsatisfied with a  
 sends Philip as an usurper (as we have related above) was de-  
 hostage to throned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who  
 Thebes. reinstated  
 A. C. 367.

<sup>24</sup> Justin. l. vii. c. iv.

<sup>25</sup> Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. *Æschin. de falsa legatione.*

reinstated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to secure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hostages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

CHAP.  
XXXIII.

Perdiccas seemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; disputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece<sup>26</sup>; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well-directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predecessors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms. The Macedonians met him in the field, but were totally defeated with the loss of four thousand men<sup>27</sup>. Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon after died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was an infant. Thebes having lost her pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies. Athens was hostile, and Macedon, surrounded by enemies on every side, already experienced the fury of barbarian invaders.

Perdiccas  
defeated  
by the  
Illyrians.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received some cause of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and insulted the northern frontier without

Macedon  
distracted  
by two  
pretenders  
to the  
throne,  
and deso-  
lated by  
four for-  
eign ar-  
mies.

<sup>26</sup> Demosth. de falsa legat.

<sup>27</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. sect. 2.

CHAP. without interruption or controul. The Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they prepared to send back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretensions to that dignity; and, grown old in intrigue, easily persuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and disgusted. Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and sailed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men commanded by Mantias <sup>28</sup>.

Amidst  
these calamities  
Philip arrives in  
Macedon,  
Olymp.  
cv. 1.  
A. C. 360.

Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppressed, that unfortunate and distracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, asserting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, against two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would have shrunk from a design seemingly desperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the disorders which he hoped to remedy <sup>29</sup>. But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year <sup>30</sup>) displayed those extraordinary abilities which distinguish his reign, and render

<sup>28</sup> Diodorus, ubi supra.

<sup>29</sup> Olivier Vie de Phillippe, p. 47.

<sup>30</sup> Comp. Diodor. p. 510. & Justin. l. ix. c. viii.



render it the most interesting spectacle that his-  
 tory can present to those who are delighted with  
 surveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force  
 and fortune, but the active energies and re-  
 sources of a vigorous and comprehensive mind.  
 Such was the obscurity in which his merit had  
 hitherto lain concealed from the public, that  
 historians <sup>31</sup> disagree as to the place of his resi-  
 dence, when he was informed of the defeat and  
 death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age  
 of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the  
 family, and under the direction of Epaminon-  
 das <sup>32</sup>, whose lessons and example could not fail  
 to excite in a kindred mind the emulation of  
 excellence, and the ardour of patriotism <sup>33</sup>. It  
 is probable that, agreeably to the custom of  
 Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately  
 frequented the school and the camp, and might  
 sometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent  
 of a general, that Philip accompanied the The-  
 ban hero in many of his military expeditions.  
 It is certain that, attended suitably to his rank,  
 he visited the principal republics of Greece,  
 whose institutions in peace and war he examined  
 with a sagacity far superior to his years <sup>34</sup>. The  
 tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new  
 establishment which he introduced into Macedon.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

His edu-  
 cation, and  
 transacti-  
 ons preced-  
 ing that  
 period.

<sup>31</sup> Diodorus places him in Thebes; Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds, *Διατρεφέν δι' ἰσχυρὰ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ Περδίκκας, ἔξ ἱπποῦ, δύναμιν ὑπαρχούσης, ἐκτίσας τοῖς πρᾶγμασι*. Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch in Pelopida.

<sup>33</sup> Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Bœotian for Epaminondas, and the resentment of a native of Chæronæa against Philip. See Plutarch in Pelopid.

<sup>34</sup> Plutarch in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

CHAP. don. Nor was the improvement of his know-  
 XXXIII. ledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whom-  
 ever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hostile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendship and esteem of Plato <sup>35</sup>, Isocrates <sup>36</sup>, and Aristotle <sup>37</sup>; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens, and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no small degree, to the success of his future designs <sup>38</sup>.

The Illyrians evacuate Macedon.

His seasonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, suddenly changed the fortune of that seemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumstances which seconded his abilities, and conspired to promote his success. The places of strength built by Archelaus furnished a secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not subdued; they had considerable garrisons in the fortresses and walled towns scattered over the kingdom <sup>39</sup>; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians <sup>40</sup>; and those fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only solicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy

<sup>35</sup> Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

<sup>36</sup> Isocratis Epistolæ, & Oratio ad Philippum.

<sup>37</sup> Aristotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, where, most probably, Philip first saw him. Dionys. Halicarnas. Epist. ad Ammæum.

<sup>38</sup> Demosthen. passim.

<sup>39</sup> Thucyd. l. xi. p. 168.

<sup>40</sup> Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. CHAP. XXXIII. They probably intended soon to assault Macedonia with increased numbers, and to complete their devastations; but they seem to have been alike incapable to concert or to pursue any permanent plan of conquest; and being distinguished, as historians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity <sup>41</sup>, they were not less distinguished by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote consequences, which characterise the manners of barbarians.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace <sup>42</sup> were less formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe less savage, and more considerable <sup>43</sup> than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained stationary, in the rudeness of their primitive state, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourse with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in the preceding parts of this work. The destructive ravages of Scuthes <sup>44</sup> represent the ordinary condition of that unsettled and inhospitable country, sometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whose mutual hostilities banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art.

<sup>41</sup> Lucian, in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

<sup>42</sup> Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii, p. 393.

<sup>43</sup> Hippocrat. de Epidem.

<sup>44</sup> See vol. ii. c. xxvi. p. 449, & seqq.



CHAP. art. Exclusive of the Grecian settlements on  
 XXXIII. the coast, Thrace contained not any city, nor  
 even any considerable town. The barbarian  
 Cotys, who was dignified with the title of king,  
 led a wandering life, encamping on the banks  
 of rivers with his flocks and followers <sup>45</sup>. War  
 and pasturage formed the only sources of his  
 grandeur, and even the only means of his sub-  
 sistence.

Philip dis- Such were the first enemies with whom Philip  
 arms the had to contend. Their own capricious un-  
 resent- steadiness delivered him from the Illyrians. To  
 ment of the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either  
 those sent a deputation, or applied in person; and  
 countries. partly by bribes, partly by artful promises and  
 flattery, persuaded the invaders to retire. The  
 same arts prevailed with the selfish king of  
 Thrace <sup>46</sup>, whose avarice readily sacrificed the  
 cause of Pausanias, while Philip thought the  
 remaining wealth of Macedon usefully consum-  
 ed in removing these barbarous foes, that he  
 might resist, with undivided strength, the more  
 formidable invasion of Argæus and the Atheni-  
 ans.

Philip de- The Athenian fleet already anchored before  
 clared the harbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his  
 king of numerous followers, had encamped in the pro-  
 Macedon. vince of Pieria; and their united forces pre-  
 Olymp. pared to march northward to Edeffa, or *Ægæ*,  
 cv. 1. the  
 A. C. 360.

<sup>45</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 331.

<sup>46</sup> Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. sect. 3. Horace alludes to these  
 events :

——— diffidit urbium  
 Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulo  
 Reges muneribus.

Lib. iii. Ode 16.

the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the standard of the banished king. The Macedonians who adhered to the interest of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant son, had been dispirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes consequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, roused them from their despair. They admired the dexterity with which he had disarmed the resentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful person, insinuating address, and winning affability, qualities which he possessed in a very uncommon degree <sup>47</sup>, gained the affections of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were studiously reminded of, a prophecy <sup>48</sup>, that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the son of Amyntas. In an assembly held at *Ægæ*, they exclaimed, with one consent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatness. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celestial voice, and entrust the sceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it <sup>49</sup>." This proposal seemed not extraordinary in a country, which had been long accustomed to interruptions in the lineal

<sup>47</sup> *Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.*

<sup>48</sup> In the Sibylline verses preserved in Pausanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatness, and the destruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. These verses, though evidently composed after the event, serve to confirm the fact, that the superstition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purposes of Philip. Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid. idem.*

CHAP. lineal order of succession. Amyntas was set aside,  
 XXXIII. and Philip, who had hitherto possessed only the  
 delegated power of regent, was invested with the  
 royal title and authority <sup>50</sup>.

He de-  
 feats the  
 pretender  
 Argæus,  
 and his  
 Athenian  
 auxili-  
 aries.

While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obsolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edeffa; but that city shut its gates against him. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to gain admission into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his course backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected sufficient strength to take the field, harassed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himself fell, with the flower of his army. The rest, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made prisoners of war <sup>51</sup>.

Uncom-  
 mon treat-  
 ment of  
 the Athe-  
 nian and  
 Macedo-  
 nian pri-  
 soners.

It was on this occasion that Philip first displayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the course of a long reign, gained him such a powerful ascendant over the passions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the interest of his ambition. In the midst of prosperity, his proud and lofty spirit must have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreck his vengeance on the unhappy prisoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But the interest of Philip required him rather to soothe than to irritate the people of Athens,

<sup>50</sup> Diodorus, *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 3. & Demosth. in Aristocrat.



Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he CHAP. could not command by force) the confidence of XXXIII. his Macedonian subjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his presence, rebuked with gentleness and humanity, admitted to swear allegiance to their new master, and promiscuously distributed in the body of his army. The Athenian prisoners were treated in a manner still more extraordinary <sup>52</sup>. Instead of demanding any ransom for their persons, he restored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with such condescending hospitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply persuaded of his attachment and respect for their republic <sup>53</sup>.

They had only time to blaze forth the praises Philip of Philip, when his ambassadors arrived at amuses Athens <sup>54</sup>. He knew that the loss of Amphipolis the Athenians with a treaty of peace principally excited the resentment of the Athenians; he knew that the interest of Macedon and friendship. required that resentment to be appeased. Impressed with these ideas, he renounced all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, which was formally declared a free and independent city, subject only Olymp. cv. 2. to the government of its own equitable laws <sup>55</sup>. A. C. 359:

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L

This

<sup>52</sup> The fair side of Philip's character is described by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 510, & seqq. and p. 559. By Just. l. ix. c. viii. The most disadvantageous description of him is given by Demosthenes, passim, and by Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero seems not to have regarded the assertions of Demosthenes, when, in speaking of Philip and Alexander, he says, "Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his interest, merits neither the panegyrics nor invectives too liberally bestowed on it.

<sup>53</sup> Demosthenes in Aristocrat.

<sup>54</sup> Demosthen. in Aristocrat.

<sup>55</sup> Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

**C H A P.** This measure, together with the distinguished  
**XXXIII.** treatment of the Athenian prisoners, insured the  
 success of his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long subsisted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unsteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude, than prone to anger, were thus lulled into repose, at a time when Fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their present power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the insidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies<sup>56</sup>; and ceased, during several years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

Philip institutes the order of *δουλοφύλαξ*, *spear-men*, *companions*.  
 Olymp.  
 cv. 2.  
 A. C. 359.

The young king, having given such illustrious proofs of his abilities in negotiation and war, availed himself of the affectionate admiration of his subjects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, such institutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the solid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumscribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially in the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their sovereign. In foreign war they followed his standard, but they often shook his throne by domestic sedition; and, amidst the scanty materials for explaining the internal state of Macedon in ancient times, we may discover several instances

<sup>56</sup> See above, c. xxxii. p. 85.

stances in which they disavowed their allegiance, and assumed independent government over considerable districts of the country <sup>57</sup>. The moment of glory and success seemed the most favourable for extinguishing this dangerous spirit, and quashing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this design Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characterises his reign. From the bravest of the Macedonian youth, he chose a select body of companions <sup>58</sup>, who, being distinguished by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's person in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the sovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to superior diligence in all the severe duties of a military life <sup>59</sup>. The noble youth, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admission into this distinguished order; and while, on one hand, they served as hostages <sup>60</sup> for the allegiance of their families, they formed, on the other, an useful seminary of future generals <sup>61</sup>, who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander, at length conquered for themselves, and divided the spoils of the ancient world.

It is ignorantly said by some writers <sup>62</sup>, that His military Philip, in the first year of his reign, invented the phalanx, <sup>range-ments.</sup>

L. 2

<sup>57</sup> Strabo, l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v.

<sup>58</sup> Arrian, & Ælian.

<sup>59</sup> Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.

<sup>60</sup> Arrian says, "ταὶ τὸ τίλει Μακεδόνων τὰς παῖδας," "the sons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hostages for the fidelity of their parents. He also ascribes the institution to Philip. *Ἐκ Φιλίππου καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς.* Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

<sup>61</sup> Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

<sup>62</sup> Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. f. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek history. It was natural for the Romans, who began



CHAP. phalanx, a body of six thousand men, armed with  
 XXXIII. short swords, fit either for cutting or thrusting;  
 strong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and  
 a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long,  
 which, usually arranged sixteen deep, formed the  
 main battle of the Macedonians. But this is no-  
 thing different from the armour and arrangement  
 which had always prevailed among the Greeks,  
 and which Philip adopted in their most perfect  
 form; nor is there reason to think that a prince,  
 who knew the danger of changing what the ex-  
 perience of ages had approved, made any altera-  
 tion in the weapons or tactics of that people<sup>63</sup>.  
 His attention was more judiciously directed to  
 procure, in sufficient abundance, arms, horses,  
 and other necessary instruments of war; in re-  
 viewing and exercising his troops; and in accus-  
 toming them to that austere and laborious life<sup>64</sup>,  
 which is the best preparation for the field.

Conquers  
 Pæonia.  
 Olymp.  
 cv. 3.  
 A. C. 358.

The military resources which his activity had  
 provided, his ambition did not allow to remain  
 long unemployed. The death of Agis, the most  
 warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an histo-  
 rian,

began to know Greece and Macedon almost at the same time,  
 and who found the phalanx most complete in the latter, to  
 suppose it invented in that country.

<sup>63</sup> The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip  
 gave the appearance of advancing, instead of retreating,  
 mentioned by Ælian in his *Tactics*, c. xxviii. was borrowed,  
 as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip  
 increased the phalanx, usually less numerous, to six thousand  
 men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings  
 of Macedon, who swelled it to sixteen thousand, only ren-  
 dered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient.  
 The highest perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in  
 Xenophon's expedition. See above, c. xvi. p. 424. & seqq.  
 See also Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. l. xlv. c. 40.

<sup>64</sup> Polyanus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. *Strat.* l. iv. c. 1.

rian<sup>65</sup>, king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which those Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almost every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians lost all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without resistance; carried off slaves and plunder; imposed a tribute on their chiefs; took hostages; and reduced Pæonia to an absolute dependence on Macedon.

It is probable, that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquished to follow his standard; but the Pæonians were no sooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all seasons seemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria<sup>66</sup> at the head of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse; and, before entering the country, animated the resentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the custom of the Greeks, whose manners, he seemed, on every occasion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of past injuries, the honour of his

C H A P.  
XXXIII.

Defeats  
the Illy-  
rians, and  
extends  
his terri-  
tory to the  
Ionian sea.

<sup>65</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 4.

<sup>66</sup> The Greek name of this country is *Ιλλυρίς*, but more commonly *ἡ Ιλλυρία*, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. passim. The Latin name is *Illyricum*; most English writers of ancient history use *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek *Ιλλυρίς* is described by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eastern shore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Istria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a signification far more extensive. See Gibbon's History, vol. i. p. 27.

CHAP. his subjects, and the glory of his crown, might  
 XXXIII. be topics proper to influence the Macedonian soldiers<sup>67</sup>, who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their sovereign. Illyria had been extended on the east, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic<sup>68</sup>. This was an important consideration to a prince who seems to have early meditated the raising of a naval power. Beside this, it was impossible for Philip to undertake with safety the other measures which he had in view, should he leave his kingdom exposed to the predatory incursions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unless they feared Macedon, must always be formidable to that country. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment, or allured by the splendour of victory, Philip proceeded forward, with the caution necessary to be observed in an hostile territory. After a fruitless negotiation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horse. The precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column<sup>69</sup> in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flanks, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The Illyrians, thus surrounded on every side, were crushed between two opposite assaults, without having an opportunity

<sup>67</sup> The heads of the speech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

<sup>68</sup> Strabo says, *ἀπαντα τον Ἰλλυρικον*, (scilicet *χωρον*) *εφοδρεσ* *εὐλαμενον* *εἶναι*; and adds, that the shore of Illyria is as abundant, as the opposite coast of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

<sup>69</sup> The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called *πλαθιον*, from *πλαθος*, a brick; which clearly points out its form.



nity to exert their full strength <sup>70</sup>. Their resist- CHAP. XXXIII.  
 ance, however, must have been vigorous, since seven thousand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback. The loss of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who sent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and submitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the same terms <sup>71</sup> which he had lately imposed on the Pæonians. *That* part of their country which lies east of the lake Lychnidus, he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town, and settled a colony on the side of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fish, highly esteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles distant from the Ionian sea; but such was the ascendant that the arms and Policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours,

<sup>70</sup> Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

<sup>71</sup> It should seem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the same superstitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only used a privilege too common among historians, of transferring their own feelings to those concerning whom they write. He says, that Philip "restored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pausanias (in Bæotic.) denies that either Philip or his son Alexander ever erected any of those monuments of victory; which practice, he says, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, established as early as the time of Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wise founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raising them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverse is sometimes charged with trophies, refute the assertion of Pausanias; which is likewise contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

CHAP. neighbours, that the inhabitants of the interme-  
 XXXIII. diate district soon adopted the language and  
 manners of their conquerors; and their territory,  
 hitherto unconnected with any foreign power,  
 sunk into such an absolute dependance on Macedon,  
 that many ancient geographers considered it  
 as a province of that country <sup>72</sup>.

Philip's  
 designs  
 against  
 Amphipolis.  
 Olymp.

cv. 4.  
 A. C. 357.

Having settled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the sweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more arduous designs, than those which he had hitherto carried on with such signal success. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedon; but the rich southern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, presented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well disciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or subjects, and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or subject to the Athenians, formed a barrier sufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedon, but even to threaten the safety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years he accomplished his designs, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding

<sup>72</sup> Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.

standing the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most signal triumph, perhaps ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

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XXXIII.

The importance of Olynthus and the Chalcidicé could not divert the sagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid, conquest. The possession of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the sea, and secure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of Mount Pangæus, the former of which was so essential to the raising of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a sufficient military force. The place itself, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their pretensions to their ancient colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a soldier of fortune, had risen to the command of a considerable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and restraint of personal service. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

Import-  
ance of  
that place.

In



CHAP.  
XXXIII.

Amphi-  
polis en-  
ters into  
the Olyn-  
thian con-  
federacy.

In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been to conceal from the suspicious jealousy of the new republic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to seek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they set at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant, enemy; and their imprudent insolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must soon break forth into action, and overwhelm the Amphipolitans; while they themselves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they sent ambassadors to Athens, requesting an alliance with that republic against the natural enemy of both states, and an enemy whose successful activity rendered him a just object of terror.

The in-  
trigues of  
Philip  
prevent  
an alliance  
between  
Athens  
and Olyn-  
thus.

This alliance, had it taken place, must have given a fatal blow to the rising greatness of Macedon, which as yet was incapable to contend with the united strength of Olynthus and Athens. The spies and emissaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ those odious, but necessary, instruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himself was deeply sensible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by the most plausible declarations and promises. A negotiation was immediately set on foot, by which Philip

Philip stipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they surrendered to him Pydna, a place of far less importance. He promised, besides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at present to mention, but which time would reveal<sup>73</sup>. Amused by the artifices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the senate of the Five Hundred (for the transaction was carried on with such haste as allowed not time for assembling the people) rejected with disdain the overtures of the Olynthians<sup>74</sup>; who returned home disgusted and indignant.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry passions which agitated their own breasts, when the ambassadors of Philip craved audience in the assembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the insolence of Athens; but at the same time testified his surprise, that they should condescend to court the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered immediately

Artifices  
by which  
he gained  
the Olyn-  
thians.

<sup>73</sup> Καὶ τοὶ βουλευόμενοι ποτὶ ἀπορρητὸν ἔκειτο. Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6, edit. Wolfii. It is strange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, so distinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammæus.

<sup>74</sup> Demosthenes expresses it in the strongest terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: "ὅτι Ολυνθίους ἀπελάσαντες τινὲς ἐβόησε. Demosthen. ibid.

C H A P.  
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diately to put them in possession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon<sup>75</sup>; at the same time assuring them of his intentions to deserve their gratitude by still more important services, and particularly by employing his arms to reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of considerable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at present, subject to Athens.

Philip be-  
sieves  
Amphi-  
polis.  
Olymp.  
cv. 4.  
A. C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promises, in which, as they suited his interest, he doubtless was sincere, and still more, his secret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences and complaints which naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the sincere friendship of that people, who were ready to assist his arms, and to second his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with safety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and pressed that city with a vigorous siege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourse, in their distress, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to represent the danger

<sup>75</sup> Demosthen. Philip. ii. 4.



danger of an alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the sincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

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At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the social war; yet the hopes of recovering so important a settlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip sent them a letter, renewing the assurances of his friendship, acknowledging their pretensions to the city which he actually besieged, and of which he artfully said, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped shortly to put them in possession. Amused by these insinuating representations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little respect as they had lately done those of Olynthus. The besieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip pressed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obstinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the resentment of the conqueror, at length surrendered at discretion.<sup>76</sup>

Amused  
the Athenians.Amphipolis  
surrenders.  
Olymp.  
cv. 4.  
A. C. 357.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the punishment of his enemies. It was his interest to preserve and to aggrandise, not to depopulate Amphipolis. He banished a few daring leaders, whose seditious or patriotic spirit might disturb the measures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with sufficient mildness. Their territory was reunited to Macedon,

Is annexed to Macedon.

<sup>76</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 4—7.

CHAP. don, from which Philip resolved that it should  
 XXXIII. never be dismembered, notwithstanding his promises to the Athenians.

Philip  
 puts the  
 Olyn-  
 thians in  
 possession  
 of Pydna  
 and Poti-  
 dæa.

That he might arm himself against the resentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earnestness, the Olynthian confederacy; and having besieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly assisted him in making these conquests. In the whole transaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garrison in Potidæa, who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and dismissed them without ransom, artfully lamenting that the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppose the interests of their republic, for which he entertained the most sincere respect <sup>77</sup>.

Philip  
 pursues  
 his con-  
 quests in  
 Thrace.

It is impossible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, should have been the dupes of this gross artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the social war, the events of which grew continually more unprosperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diversion, to pursue his conquests in Thrace, to which the possession of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it necessary to purchase a peace from Cotys, who still governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable opposition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian

<sup>77</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demosth. Philipp. ii. & Olynth. i.

rian with the Grecian religion and manners, which he had adopted in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, served only to deprave his faculties, and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Cotys was allowed to possess his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traversed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus, or to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celestial mistress, penetrated into the deep recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned his kingdom.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarsis, the favourite scene of his wild and romantic enjoyments<sup>78</sup>, he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from such a man could excite nothing but ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, situated at the foot of Mount Pangæus, and distant ten miles from the sea. He admired the solitary beauty of the place, which being bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the soil, produced the finest and most delicious fruit and flowers, especially roses, of a peculiar hue and fragrantcy. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important,

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Takes possession of the gold mines at Creninæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

<sup>78</sup> Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.



CHAP. by the gold mines in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thasos and from Athens, but totally neglected since the ignorant Thracians had become masters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled those Barbarians from a possession which they seemed unworthy to hold. Having descended into the gold mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the bosom of the earth was again opened and ransacked<sup>79</sup> with eager avidity by a prince, who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth assumed the name of Philippi<sup>80</sup>, a name bestowed also on the golden coins struck by order of Philip<sup>81</sup>, to the annual amount of nearly a thousand talents, or two hundred thousand pounds sterling<sup>82</sup>.

Philip  
settles the  
affairs of  
Thessaly.

Having effected the main purpose of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip set bounds to his conquests in that country, and carried his arms into Thessaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants instead of one. These were, Tisiphonu, Pitholaus, and Lyco-

<sup>79</sup> Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. v. p. 760, & Demosthen. in Leptin.

<sup>80</sup> The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius have eclipsed, in their melancholy splendour, all the preceding events which distinguish Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces  
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

HORACE.

<sup>81</sup> Regale numisma Philippus.

<sup>82</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. ix. Justin. l. viii. c. iii. speaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the assassins, and the successors of Alexander. The resentment of the Thessalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated those oppressors of their country, who were reduced to such humiliating terms as seemed sufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own subjects, or to their <sup>83</sup> neighbours. The Thessalians, who were susceptible of all impressions, but incapable of preserving any, concluded, in the first emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they surrendered to him the revenues arising from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniencies of their harbours and shipping; and extraordinary as this cession was, Philip found means to render <sup>84</sup> it effectual and permanent.

Advantages which he derived from that country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Philip Arybbas, king of Epirus, a small principality which skirted the western frontier of Thessaly. In his excursions from Thebes, Philip had early seen Olympias, the sister of that prince, whose wit and spirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impression on his heart. They were initiated, at the same time, in the mysteries of Ceres, during the triennial festival in the isle of Samothrace, which had been long as much distinguished as <sup>85</sup> Eleusis itself, by the peculiar worship and protection of this bountiful goddess. But the active ambition which employed and engrossed the first years of Philip's reign, had probably banished the memory of his love, when his expedition into Thessaly recalled

Philip marries Olympias. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

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M

the

<sup>83</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

<sup>84</sup> Demosth. Philip. l. 10, Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. xix.

<sup>85</sup> See vol. ii. c. xxi. p. 277.

CHAP. the image of Olympias. Their first interview  
 XXXIII. naturally revived his tender passions; and, as the  
 { kings of Epirus were lineally descended from  
 Achilles, the match appeared every way suitable;  
 Arybbas readily yielded his consent, and the beautiful  
 princess was conducted into Macedon <sup>86</sup>.

During  
 the solemnities of  
 his nuptials, the  
 neighbouring  
 princes  
 take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were solemnised at Pella with unusual pomp and splendour. Several months were destined to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, to musical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal share in all these scenes of festivity; and it is probable that, amidst the more elegant amusements of his court, Philip might discover that strong propensity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other disgraceful ministers of his more criminal pleasures, which however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, disgraced and tarnished the succeeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he seemed sunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies <sup>87</sup>. The tributary princes of Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the king of Thrace engaged in their designs, which were concerted with more caution than is usual with Barbarians; and this general conspiracy of neighbouring states might have repressed for a while the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been seasonably informed of the danger by his faithful partisans and emissaries in those countries.

Early

<sup>86</sup> Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

<sup>87</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.



Early in the ensuing spring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. **CHAP. XXXIII.** **Par-**menio, the general in whom he had most confidence, crushed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally successful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A second messenger acquainted him that his horses had gained the prize in the chariot races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate son of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impressing a chariot on his coins. Almost at the same time a third messenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidst such auspicious circumstances, the diviners announced the greatest prosperity <sup>88</sup> and glory.

Philip  
quashes  
their con-  
spiracy.  
Olymp.  
cvi. 1.  
A.C. 356.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not over-Philip's  
set the wisdom of Philip, if we may judge by the letter to  
first authentic transaction which immediately fol- to Aristot-  
lowed these events. This was the correspondence le, an-  
with Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit Philip nouncing  
had early discerned at Athens, when he still the birth  
resided with his master Plato. The first letter of Alex-  
ander.  
(fortunately preserved) is written with a brevity  
which marks the king and the man of genius.  
"Know that a son is born to us. We thank the  
gods, not so much for their gift, as for bestowing  
it at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure our-  
selves that you will form him a prince worthy of  
his father, and worthy of Macedon." Aristotle  
commenced this illustrious employment about

M 2

thirteen

<sup>88</sup> Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP. thirteen years afterwards<sup>89</sup>, when the opening  
 XXXIII. mind of Alexander might be supposed capable of  
 receiving the benefit of his instructions. The  
 success of his labours will be explained in the  
 sequel. The fortune of Alexander surpassed that  
 of all other conquerors as much as his virtues  
 surpassed his fortune. Yet the fame of the phi-  
 losopher abundantly repays the honour reflected  
 on him by his royal pupil, since sixteen centuries  
 after the destruction of Alexander's empire, the  
 writings of Aristotle still maintained an unex-  
 amplesd ascendant over the opinions, and even  
 over the actions of men.

<sup>89</sup> The chronology appears from Dionysius of Halicar-  
 nassus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that De-  
 mosthenes had attained the highest perfection in the practice,  
 before Aristotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence,  
 marks, with great exactness, the principal events in the lives  
 of the philosopher and orator. Aristotle, a native of Stagira,  
 came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There  
 he continued twenty years, as the scholar or assistant of Plato,  
 who died 348 A. C. Aristotle left Athens on the death of  
 his master, and spent three years at Atarneus, and two at My-  
 telené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third  
 year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight  
 years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens  
 335 A. C. taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the  
 year following at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and  
 a year after the death of Alexander. Dionysius ad Am-  
 mæum. He reckons by the archons of Athens; I have  
 substituted the years before Christ.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Philip's Prosperity.—Imprudent Measures of the Amphycetionic Council.—The Phocian, or Sacred War.—Philomelus seizes the Temple of Delphi.—Takes the Field against the Thebans and their Allies.—Defeat and Death of Philomelus—Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica.—Onemarchus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Encounters Philip in Thessaly.—He is defeated and slain.—Philip's Designs against Olynthus and Byzantium.—Traversed by the Athenians.—Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Philip marches towards Thermopylae.—Anticipated by the Athenians.—Demosthenes's first Philippic.—Philip's Occupations at Pella—His Vices—and Policy.*

**P**HILIP had now reigned almost five years. C H A P.  
XXXIV.  
He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had still more augmented the revenues of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obsequious province of Macedon. At the expence of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the east to the sea of Thasos; on the west to the lake Lychnidus. He was master of Thessaly without having the trouble to govern it. He secured many commercial advantages by the possession of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous and well disciplined; his large finances were regulated with œconomy; and the mines of Philippi furnished him with an annual resource alike useful to his designs, whether he pursued the ambitious career of foreign conquest, or set himself to build up

*Prosperity  
of Philip  
in the fifth  
year of his  
reign.  
Olymp.  
cvii. 1.  
A. C. 356.*



CHAP. up and consolidate the internal grandeur of his  
 XXXIV. dominions.

His profound and impene-  
 trable policy.

The power of Philip was admired, and feared, by those who were unable to penetrate the deep principles of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The first and most natural object of his desire was the territory of Olynthus, the most populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coast. His second and far more arduous purpose was to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. But instead of discovering these designs, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful assiduity, and had deserved their gratitude by many solid and important services. His success had been complete, and, if elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have consented to follow his standard. But Philip was sensible, that by snatching too eagerly at this glorious prize, he might destroy for ever his prospect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and harassed by the destructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain possession of several of their dependent settlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, these proceedings by the pretence of justice or necessity, and tempering even his hostilities by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Before the social war was ended, the seeds of dissention, so profusely scattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domestic animosities

ties of Greece; but the too early discovery of his system might have united an hundred thousand warriors against their common enemy; whereas, by the secret refinements of a slow and steady policy, he effected his vast purposes without being obliged, on any one occasion, to fight against thirty thousand men.

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The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in consequence of the events which have formerly been described, began early to display those dangerous passions with which the exercise of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that during the decline of their jurisdiction, many unwarrantable abuses had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they said) which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardless of the decision of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands consecrated to Apollo, and therefore withdrawn from agriculture<sup>1</sup>. These lands, however, were confined to the narrow district between the river Cephissus and Mount Thurium, on the western frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their useful labours deserve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, since the Locrians of Amphisso had long cultivated the Crissæan plain;

He carefully watches the imprudent measures of the Amphictyonic council;

<sup>1</sup> The number is chosen as a very *moderate* medium between the two hundred and twenty thousand men, afterwards promised to Philip in the general convention of the States at Corinth for the service of the Persian expedition, and the eighty thousand which the Greeks actually raised against Xerxes, and which Thucydides says, that the Peloponnesian confederacy alone could send into Attica.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. c. v.

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plain; a more extensive territory, and consecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies <sup>2</sup>. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careless of such distinctions, fulminated an angry decree against Phocis, commanding the sacred lands to be laid waste, and imposing a heavy fine on that community.

which are  
principal-  
ly abetted  
by the  
Thebans;

It is believed that the Thebans, the enemies and neighbours of Phocis, and whose influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure <sup>3</sup>; a supposition rendered probable by the ensuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next sentence was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had surprised and seized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed so many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obscurity. But, at the instigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine should be doubled, unless paid within an appointed time; and if the decree were finally disregarded, that the Lacedæmonians should be treated as public enemies to Greece <sup>4</sup>.

who ex-  
cite the  
resent-  
ment of  
the Pho-  
cians.  
Olymp.

The Phocians, singled out as the first victims of oppression, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to desolate

cv. 4.  
A. C. 357.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. c. v. & seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Justin. l. viii. c. i. & seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & seqq.



desolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with so much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any sufficient force to render them ineffectual, should the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to dispute their authority. This measure, daring as it seemed, was strongly recommended by Philomelus, whose popular eloquence and valour gave him a powerful ascendant in Phocis. He possessed great hereditary wealth; contemned the national superstition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious spirit, he expected to rise, amidst the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving that to them, of right, belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the immense treasures contained within its sacred walls, he brought the majority of the senate and assembly into his opinion. As the properest instrument to execute his own measures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his standard; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues, were consumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers, who abounded in every province of Greece.

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The

<sup>5</sup> Philomelus cited the respectable authority of Homer:

Αὐτὰρ Φαίωνα Σχιδίος καὶ Ἐπιστροφὸς ἤρχον.

Ὅι Κυπαρίσσου κίχον Πυθωνα τε πύρηνισσαν.

"But Schedius and Epistrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cyparissus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

CHAP. XXXIV. The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, and the delinquents were condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance of this imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and setting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agefilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an assembly, considered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He assured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his cause; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on secret supplies of men and money<sup>6</sup>.

Philomelus seizes the temple of Delphi. Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum<sup>7</sup> immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awefully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracidæ, who

<sup>6</sup> Ὁ δὲ Αρχίδαμος ἀποδίδωμενος τὸν λόγον, φανεῖας μὲν, κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, καὶ εἴησι βοηθήσειν, λαβεῖν δὲ πάντα συμπράξιν, χορηγῶν καὶ χιημάτων καὶ μισθοφόρων. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus says, fifteen talents. Diodor. ibid.

who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-assured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi with no hostile disposition against the inhabitants, with no sacrilegious designs against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to assert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he scattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the resentment of the Athenians, naturally hostile to Thebes; and both those republics came to the resolution of supporting the measures of Philomelus.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Thessalians, with other states of less consideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme slowness natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little assistance from his distant allies. But, first, by imposing a heavy

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Employs  
the sacred  
treasure  
in raising  
mercena-  
ries.



CHAP. a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been  
 XXXIV. enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then,  
 notwithstanding his declaration, by taking very  
 undue liberties with the treasure of Apollo <sup>8</sup>, he  
 collected above ten thousand mercenaries, men  
 daring and profligate as himself, who sacrificed  
 all scruples of religion to the hopes of dividing  
 a rich spoil. Such at least was the general cha-  
 racter of his followers. To the few who had  
 more piety, or less avarice, he endeavoured to  
 justify his measures by the authority of an ora-  
 cle. The Pythia at first refused to mount the  
 sacred tripod. Philomelus sternly commanded  
 her. She obeyed with reluctance, observing,  
 that being already master of Delphi, he might  
 act without sanction or controul <sup>9</sup>. Philomelus  
 waited for no other answer, but gladly inter-  
 preted the words as an acknowledgment of his  
 absolute authority; and, with the address suit-  
 able to his situation and character, confirmed  
 the auspicious declaration of the priestess by the  
 report of many favourable omens <sup>10</sup>.

Takes the  
 field  
 against  
 the The-  
 bans and  
 their  
 allies.  
 Olymp.  
 cvi. 2.  
 A.C. 355.

Having obtained the supposed sanction of re-  
 ligion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the tem-  
 ple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a  
 strong garrison; and with the remainder of his  
 forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incur-  
 sions of the enemy. During two years, hostili-  
 ties were carried on with various fortune against  
 the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the  
 most part inclined to the Phocians; but there  
 happened

<sup>8</sup> Diodorus sometimes acknowledges, and sometimes de-  
 nies, that Philomelus meddled with the sacred treasure.

<sup>9</sup> Αποφθγγαμένης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ βιαζομένου "ὅτι  
 ἐξῆς αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὁ βυλεται." Diodor. p. 428.

<sup>10</sup> Diodor. p. 429.

happened not any decisive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually inflicted and suffered. The Phocian prisoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the most abominable sacrilege and impiety; and the resentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal severity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands <sup>11</sup>.

As both armies anxiously expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to risk a general engagement, till chance rendered that measure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the same point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, and began to skirmish. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled by superior numbers. Pathless woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obstructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus strove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himself was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair. The enemy advanced; it seemed impossible to escape their vengeance; the resolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he sprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conscience, and the resentment of his pursuers <sup>12</sup>. While the Thebans

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Philomelus defeated.  
Olymp. cvi. 4.  
A. C. 353.

<sup>11</sup> Diodor. p. 530, & seqq.

<sup>12</sup> Diodorus hints, that, had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been shockingly mangled: *Φεομελος την εκ της αιχμαλωσιας αιμιαν*. p. 432.

CHAP. XXXIV. Thebans and their allies admired this spectacle, as a manifest indication of divine vengeance <sup>13</sup>, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the scattered remains of the vanquished army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a punishment similar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus <sup>14</sup>.

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion in the Peloponnese.  
Olymp. cvi. 3.  
A. C. 353.

Different causes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The interested policy of Archidamus, who directed with absolute authority the councils of Sparta, was less solicitous to support the arms of his distant confederates, than ambitious to recover the Lacedæmonion dominion in Peloponnese. The opportunity seemed favourable for this purpose, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another contest, and the Athenians in strict alliance with Sparta. For several years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But the design failed of success; the inferior cities of Peloponnese, roused by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her

<sup>13</sup> Such it appeared to future historians: καὶ τὸν τοῦ τεύχεος, ὡς τῷ δαίμονι διὰς καταστῆναι τοῦ βίου. Diodor. *ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.



her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians <sup>15</sup>.

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While the politics of the Peloponnesus formed a system apart, the sacred war shook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his sons Kerfobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus, were all dissatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hostilities against each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal discord, the prizes for which they contended were successively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince at length engaged Kerfobleptes, the most powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Chersonesus to the Athenians, who sent Chares with a numerous fleet to take possession of that peninsula. The town of Sestos alone made resistance. It was taken by storm, and treated with great severity by Chares; while Philip besieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this siege he lost an eye, a loss which he is said to have borne with impatience <sup>16</sup>, as the circumstances attending it were alike dishonourable to his judgment and humanity <sup>17</sup>.

It

<sup>15</sup> The question appears to have occasioned warm debates in the Athenian assembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmost zeal; and, according to the lively observation of Demosthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not spoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demosthen. pro Megalop. p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> Lucian de Scribend. Hist. p. 365.

<sup>17</sup> These circumstances, however, rest on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is said, that when the arrow was extracted,

CHAP. It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, XXXIV. after the defeat and death of Philomelus, should not have pursued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe, and recover strength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a successor; and that the Phocians would crave peace, if not driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An assembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a set speech<sup>18</sup>, flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct soon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprize. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians.  
Olymp. evi. 4.  
A.C. 353.

tracted, the following inscription appeared on it: "After to Philip's right eye." After, it seems, had offered his services to Philip, as an excellent marksman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with starlings. Philip caused the arrow to be shot back into the place, with a new inscription, "That he would hang up After;" a threat which was executed as soon as he was master of Methoné. Fictions still more incredible were related on this subject by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was said, lost his right eye by his unseasonable curiosity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander has been so widely diffused, that it was supposed to be the subject represented on the celebrated vase, which is so much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See *Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce*, vol. ii.

<sup>18</sup> Περφροντισμὸν λόγον διέλωσιν. Diodor. p. 432.

had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored, and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually assailed their fidelity. By seasonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were persuaded to observe a neutrality; while the Thessalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud<sup>19</sup>, and of whose country the proverb said, that it had never produced a bad horse or an honest man, openly embraced the cause of Phocis.

These multiplied advantages were not allowed to languish in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to eclipse the unjust motives of his enterprise by the sudden splendor of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by storm, laid several cities under contribution, pierced into Bœotia, and made himself master of Orchomenus. The Thebans assembled their forces to stem the torrent. Onomarchus first met with a repulse before the walls of Chæroneæa,

<sup>19</sup> The Thessalians had the same character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy.

—— Vane Ligus

Nequicquam patrias tantâsti lubricas artes.

VIRG.

Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) says, *ὡς τὰ τῶν θηττᾶλων· τὰυτὰ γὰρ ἀπτα μὲν ἢ δὴ πρὸ φύσεως, καὶ αἰεὶ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις.* "Philip was farther distressed by the insurrections of the Thessalians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."



CHAP. næa, and ventured not to renew the engage-  
 XXXIV. ment, having weakened his forces by placing  
 { garrisons in the important places which he had  
 taken, as well as by sending a detachment of  
 seven thousand men, under his brother Phayl-  
 lus, into Theffaly <sup>20</sup>.

He en-  
 counters  
 Philip in  
 Theffaly,  
 and  
 obliges  
 him to  
 retire.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partisan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly divested of his authority, had again established himself in Pheræ. Pegafæ, Magnesia, and several places of less note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian interest prevailed elsewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip with his usual diligence, entered Theffaly, defeated Phayllus, besieged and took Pegafæ, and drove the enemy with disgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of losing his newly-acquired interest among the Theffalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bœotia, and advance against Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though less numerous did not decline the engagement. At the first charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to pursue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus foreseeing that the Macedonians would follow in close order, had posted a detachment on the summit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given signal, to roll down fragments of rock, and stones of an enormous size, on the embattled phalanx. This was the  
 only

<sup>20</sup> Diodor. p. 434.

only mode of attack for which the Macedoni-  
 ans were not prepared. The line of march, in  
 which the moment before they proceeded with  
 such firmness and confidence, was converted in-  
 to a dreadful scene of carnage and ruin. Before  
 they recovered from their consternation, the  
 flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into  
 this ambush, returned to the charge. Philip,  
 however, rallied his men; and while Onomar-  
 chus hesitated to advance, drew them off in  
 good order, saying, that they did not retreat  
 through fear, but retired like rams, in order to  
 strike with the more impetuous vigour <sup>21</sup>.

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This saying was finally justified, although the  
 Phocians and Lycophron first enjoyed a short  
 triumph. The tyrant established himself, as he  
 thought, securely, in his native city; the Pho-  
 cians, reinforced by their Theſſalian allies, again  
 invaded Bœotia, assaulted and took Coronæa,  
 and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the  
 devastations committed in the very centre of  
 their territory. But the time of vengeance ar-  
 rived. Philip having recruited his army, re-  
 turned into Theſſaly. The unsteady partisans  
 of Lycophron, had they determined to share his  
 danger, would have proved unable to support  
 his cause. A considerable portion of the Theſ-  
 ſalians received the king of Macedon as their  
 deliverer. Onomarchus, therefore, was obliged  
 to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the  
 head of twenty thousand foot, and five hundred  
 horse, he marched to the defence of Lyco-  
 phron, and was met by the enemy, still more  
 numerous,

Onomar-  
chus de-  
feated and  
slain.

N 2

<sup>21</sup> Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34, & seqq.

CHAP. numerous, on the level coast of Magnesia. To  
 XXXIV. remind his soldiers that they fought in the cause  
 of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their  
 heads with the laurel consecrated to Apollo, and  
 adorned his ensigns and standards with the em-  
 blems and attributes of that divinity<sup>22</sup>. Their  
 onset was impetuous and fierce, and their valour,  
 animated by enthusiasm, rendered them irre-  
 sistible, though the enemy, conscious of guilt,  
 fought with the fury of despair. Three thou-  
 sand Thessalian cavalry, who had signally contri-  
 buted to the victory of Philip, rendered the pur-  
 suit bloody and destructive; while the Phocians,  
 having thrown away their armour, fled towards  
 the sea, allured by the sight of the Athenian fleet  
 under Chares, which was returning from the  
 Chersonesus. That commander seems not to have  
 made any attempt to protect them. Above six  
 thousand perished in the battle, or in the pursuit.  
 The body of Onomarchus was found among the  
 slain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet,  
 as a mark of peculiar infamy; the rest were  
 thrown into the sea, as unworthy, by their im-  
 pious sacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three  
 thousand were taken alive; but it is not abso-  
 lutely certain whether they were drowned, or  
 reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion  
 is the more probable<sup>23</sup>.

It

<sup>22</sup> Justin. l. viii. 2.

<sup>23</sup> The leaving such a circumstance at all doubtful, is  
 very dishonourable to the accuracy of the compiler Dio-  
 dorus. His words are, τέλος δὲ, τῶν Φωκίων καὶ μισθοφορῶν  
 ἀνῆρθσαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑξακισχίλις, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρα-  
 τήγης. ἤλυσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλατῶς τῶν τρισχίλιων. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὸν  
 μὲν Ονομαρχὸν ἐκρέμισεν, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὡς ἱεροσύλης κατεπόντισεν.  
 Literally, "At length above six thousand of the Phocians  
 and



It might be expected that such a decisive blow CHAP. XXXIV.  
 should have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Thessaly, durst not pursue his advantages by invading Phocis; well knowing, that an attempt to pass the straits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his interest to perpetuate dissensions in Greece. For that reason he fomented the discord that reigned among the states of Peloponnesus; and though he had punished the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too studiously his own ambitious designs. His victory over an odious enemy extended his just renown. He secured the dominion of Thessaly, by planting garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the first favourable opportunity; but till that should arrive, he rejoiced to see both divisions of that country involved in war, which allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, the subordinate purposes of his reign. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promises, but now began to throw off the mask, and to show that he meant to be their master. He actually applied

and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up *dead*, among whom was the general. Not less than three thousand were, on the other hand, taken prisoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the rest into the sea, as guilty of sacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word ἀναιρεθῆσαν: and from the precise and distinctive force of the particles μὲν and δέ, which separate the two first clauses of the text, I am of opinion that the τὰς ἄλλας can apply only to the rest of those who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word κατεποντισεν, which signifies barely to plunge into the sea.

CHAP. plied to Kerſobleptes, whom he detached from  
 XXXIV. the intereſt of Athens; and having raiſed him on  
 the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace,  
 thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an  
 occaſion to deſtroy him with ſecurity<sup>24</sup>. The  
 dominions of that prince opened the way to By-  
 zantium, the poſſeſſion of which muſt have early  
 tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew ſo  
 well to eſtimate the importance of its ſituation  
 both in commerce and in war. He began to  
 diſcover his deſigns againſt Byzantium by attack-  
 ing the fortrefs of Heræum, a place ſo called from  
 the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed  
 its principal ornament. The town of Heræum  
 was ſmall, and in itſelf unimportant; its harbour  
 was dangerous and deceitful; but being ſituate  
 contiguous to Byzantium, it ſerved as an outwork  
 and defence to that rich and populous city<sup>27</sup>.

His mea-  
 ſures  
 counter-  
 acted by  
 the Athe-  
 nians.

The Athenians had ſufficient penetration to  
 diſcern the drift of thoſe enterpriſes. They form-  
 ed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus;  
 they warned Kerſobleptes of his danger; they  
 voted a numerous fleet to ſail to the defence of  
 Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which,  
 though rendered independent of Athens by the  
 ſocial war, they ſtill carried on a lucrative com-  
 merce. But theſe ſpirited exertions were not of  
 long continuance. Philip's wound at Methoné,  
 together with the continual labour and fatigue to  
 which he had afterwards ſubmitted, threw him  
 into a dangerous malady. The report of his  
 ſickneſs was, before it reached Athens, magnified  
 into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in ſo  
 ſeaſonable a deliverance, and laying aſide their  
 naval

<sup>24</sup> Juſtin. l. viii. 3. Demoſt. Olynth. 2 & 3.

<sup>25</sup> Idem ibid.

naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the sacred war <sup>26</sup>.

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The unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus, the last surviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cause became more desperate, Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only resource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the most precious dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thessalians, assembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies <sup>27</sup>.

The Phocian, or sacred war, continued by Phayllus. Olymp. cviii. 1. A.C. 352.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his disposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his designs could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrilege of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which

Philip, in order to oppose him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, ubi supra.

<sup>27</sup> Diodor. p. 436.



CHAP. which he had formerly maintained with so much  
 XXXIV. glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus  
 were still fresh and blooming; and not only the  
 Thebans, Dorians, and Locrians, who were prin-  
 cipals in the war, but the sincere votaries of  
 Apollo in every quarter of Greece, secretly ex-  
 pected him as their deliverer; while his enemies  
 admired his piety, and trembled at his valour;  
 and as they had been lately amused with the news  
 of his sickness and death, they would now view  
 with religious terror his unexpected appearance  
 at Thermopylæ, to assert the violated rights of  
 the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and  
 motives on which Philip, at the head of a nume-  
 rous army, directed his march <sup>28</sup> towards those  
 celebrated straits, which we have formerly de-  
 scribed, and so often mentioned.

This mea-  
 sure  
 alarms  
 the Athe-  
 nians;

who sail  
 to Ther-  
 mopylæ,  
 and guard  
 the straits.

But the event shewed, that on this occasion he  
 had made a false estimate of the superstition or  
 timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built  
 too much on the patience and indolence of the  
 Athenians. That people penetrated his designs,  
 and determined to oppose them. Under the veil  
 of religious zeal, they doubted not that he con-  
 cealed a desire to invade and conquer their coun-  
 try; and, on the first intelligence of his expedi-  
 tion, their foresight and patriotism represented  
 the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, pour-  
 ing down like a destructive inundation, on Attica  
 and Peloponnesus. With an alacrity and ardour,  
 of which there was no recent example in their  
 councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet,  
 sailed to Thermopylæ, and took possession of the  
 straits <sup>29</sup>.

Never

<sup>28</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437.

<sup>29</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legat. sect. 29.

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel disappointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had so often deceived. He retired with deep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and, elated by the first instance of their success against the Macedonian, called an assembly to deliberate on measures proper to restrain his ambition.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

Philip  
retires in  
disap-  
point-  
ment.

This assembly is rendered memorable by the first appearance of Demosthenes against Philip, whose measures from this moment he ceased not to watch, and to counteract. Two years before, this illustrious orator, whose works have been more praised than read, and more read than understood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the sacred war; their northern possessions were continually insulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this situation of affairs, the mercenary partisans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aspiring designs, affected to extend their views to Asia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every assembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the great king, which they represented as certainly destined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coast of Asia. The trophies of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted

Demost-  
henes's  
first ap-  
pearance  
against  
Philip.

**CHAP** exhorted to imitate those memorable exploits of  
**XXXIV.** their ancestors in the Persian war, which shed a  
 lustre on all the succeeding periods of their  
 history.

Senti-  
 ments of  
 the wisest  
 Athenians  
 respecting  
 this  
 prince.

In this popular enthusiasm joined Isocrates the orator, together with the statesman and general Phocian, two men whose talents and virtues would have done honour to the most illustrious age of the republic. The unblemished integrity of Isocrates, the disinterested poverty of Phocion, afford sufficient proof that neither of these great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unsteadiness of Athens were incapable to contend with the unceasing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince, against whom they could not make war with any reasonable prospect of success.

Those of  
 Isocrates  
 in parti-  
 cular.

Isocrates, from the most accurate and extensive survey of the political history of Greece, discovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domestic dissensions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the state, and Philip as the general, best entitled, and best qualified, to assume the command of a military expedition into Asia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppression of Barbarians. On this important subject he addressed a discourse to Philip; he repeatedly insisted on the same topic with the Athenians; and it is obscurely related, that on one occasion he reconciled those  
 hostile



hostile powers<sup>30</sup>, and engaged them to concur in this extensive, yet rational scheme of conquest. C H A P. XXXIV.

The sentiments and views of Demosthenes were equally different from those of Isocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from those of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouse them from their lethargy, a design, arduous as it may seem, sometimes effected by his eloquence, the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, ever employed by man; and which, of all men, he had been at most pains to acquire and cultivate<sup>31</sup>. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotism he forgot the moderation of philosophy; and while he sternly maintained the prerogatives and pretensions of his country, he would rather have seen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the standard of the Macedonians, or any standard but her own. With such sentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partisan of popular government; while Phocion, like most men of sense and worth in that age, preferred a moderate aristocracy; and Isocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the best of all governments<sup>32</sup>.

In his first speeches before the assembly, Demosthenes announced himself as the minister of the people at large, whom he exhorted to  
The peculiar views of Demosthenes.  
appear in his first public orations.  
awaken

<sup>30</sup> See the Life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

<sup>31</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demost.

<sup>32</sup> See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.

CHAP. awaken from their indolence, and at length to  
 XXXIV. assume the direction of their own affairs. They  
 had been too long governed by the incapacity of a  
 few ambitious men, to the great detriment and  
 disgrace of the community. First an orator at  
 the head of all, under him a general, abetted by  
 a faction of three or four hundred, availed them-  
 selves of the sloth and negligence of a people  
 careless of every thing but pleasure, to domineer  
 in the public councils, and to become masters of  
 the state. From considerations of their present  
 corruption and weakness, as well as of the designs  
 and commotions of neighbouring powers, he ad-  
 vised them to forsake all distant and romantic  
 schemes of ambition; and, instead of carrying  
 their arms into remote countries, to prepare for  
 repelling the attacks that might be made against  
 their own dominions. He insisted earnestly on a  
 better regulation of their finances, on the re-  
 trenching of many superfluous branches of ex-  
 pence, and especially on a more equitable repa-  
 ration of public burdens, in proportion to the for-  
 tunes of individuals; which, though the income  
 of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents,  
 were actually more considerable than at any for-  
 mer period. While the rich cheerfully paid their  
 contributions, the poor must be willing to forego  
 the burthen some gratuities which they derived  
 from the treasury; and all must be ready to take  
 the field in person, that the public service might  
 be no longer betrayed, or disgraced, by strangers  
 and mercenaries<sup>33</sup>.

His first  
 Philippic. Subsequent events justified the opinions, and  
 enforced the counsels of Demosthenes. The  
 Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded  
 fears

<sup>33</sup> Vid. Oration. de Classibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed against his rebellious subjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable; and his recent attempts to seize the straits of Thermopylæ shewed the necessity of opposing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

In this juncture, so favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demosthenes mounted the rostrum<sup>34</sup> before any other orator, apologising for this forwardness in a man not yet thirty years of age, by observing, "That already the usual speakers had given their opinions on the subject of Philip; and that, had *their* advices been useful and practicable, they must have precluded the necessity of any farther deliberation. First of all, Athenians! you ought not to despair; no! not although your affairs seem indeed involved in equal confusion and danger. For the same circumstance which is the cause of your past misfortunes, ought to furnish the source of your present hope. What is that? Your own negligence and sloth, not the power of your enemies, have disordered the state. Had your distress arisen, notwithstanding your utmost care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief. But since it is occasioned by your own misconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Considering the weakness of Athens, thus despoiled of her dominions, and the strength of Philip, which has increased immoderately at our expence, should you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtless think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians,

<sup>34</sup> I have used that word, because adopted in our language to express the *ἑστια*, pulpit or gallery appropriated to the speakers in the Athenian assembly.



CHAP. Athenians, that there was a time when we possessed  
 XXXIV. Pydna, Potidæ, Methoné, and all the furround-  
 ing territory; that the nations in that neigh-  
 bourhood, now subject to Philip, were then inde-  
 pendent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to  
 that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune,  
 had Philip reasoned timidly, as we do now, 'How  
 shall I, destitute of allies, attack the Athenians,  
 whose garrisons command my frontier?' he would  
 not have engaged in those enterprises which have  
 been crowned with such signal success, nor raised  
 his kingdom to such an unexampled pitch of gran-  
 deur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns  
 and fortresses are but prizes of skill and valour<sup>35</sup>  
 proposed to the combatants, and belong of right  
 to the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent  
 are seized by those who take the field, and the  
 possessions of the negligent and slothful by the  
 vigilant and intrepid. Guided by these princi-  
 ples, he has subdued, and governs all; holding  
 some communities by right of conquest, and  
 others under the title of allies; for allies no prince  
 nor state can want, who are not wanting to them-  
 selves. But should you, Athenians, imitate the  
 example of Philip, and at length rousing from  
 your lethargy, apply seriously to your interest,  
 you would speedily recover those advantages which  
 your negligence only has lost. Favourable occa-  
 sions will yet occur; for you must not imagine  
 that Philip, like a god, enjoys his prosperity for  
 ever

<sup>35</sup> ΑΛΛ' οἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ καλὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν  
 εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλὰ τῶν πόλεων κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ. In ancient  
 times the figure had more force, as well as dignity; because  
 at the Olympic, and other sacred games, the spectators were  
 used to behold the prizes proposed to the victors, κείμενα ἐν  
 μέσῳ, exposed in the middle of the field, to excite their emu-  
 lation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

ever fixed and immutable <sup>36</sup>. No, Athenians! CHAP. XXXIV.  
 there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most devoted to his cause. These are universal passions from which the allies of Macedon are not, surely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no resource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roused by some event? when urged by some necessity? What can be more urgent than the present juncture? To free-men, the most necessary of all motives is the the shame of misconduct. Or say, will it still be your sole business to saunter in the public place, enquiring after news? What can be more new, than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens, and enslave Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How are you concerned in these rumours? What matters it to you whether he is sick or dead, since, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly will soon raise up another Philip <sup>37</sup>?"

After this animated remonstrance, Demosthenes Measures  
 proposes a plan of operations calculated chiefly proposed  
 for defence. The Athenians, he observes, were by De-  
 not yet prepared to meet Philip in the field. mosthenes  
 They must begin by protecting Olynthus, and for resist-  
ing Phi-  
the lip.

<sup>36</sup> The original is inimitable: *μη λαβὼς ὡς θεῶν νομιζέσθαι κείνων τα παρόντα πεπηγέναι, πρᾶγματα ἀθάνατα*. Join the *τα* and the *πρᾶγματα*, the article and the substantive, and the charm will be dissolved.

<sup>37</sup> The sense indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be translated. *Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; ἤ μὲν δια! ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ· τί δὲ ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἕτος τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἑτέρον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἂν περ ἕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νῦν· ὅδε γὰρ ἕτος παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ρώμην τοσούτον ἐπηυξήται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμείλιαν.*

CHAF. the Chersonesus, from his incursions. For this  
 XXXIV. purpose it was necessary, to raise a body of two thousand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be transported under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet), with all expedition to the isles of Lemnos, Thasos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coast of Macedon. Conveniently posted in those islands, where they would enjoy necessaries in abundance, the Athenian troops might avail themselves of every favourable incident, to appear at the first summons of their allies, and either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to harass the extended, and, in many parts, defenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater vigour. Such moderate proposals prove that Demosthenes well understood the genius of his countrymen. He required that only the fourth part of the troops should consist of Athenian citizens, and the immediate supplies were only to amount to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleasure; and so fatally were they sunk in the dissipated amusements of the city, that it is probable the small armament proposed did not actually set sail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public service.

Philip affects to lay aside his ambition.

The profound policy of Philip fostered the supine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himself to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to dissipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to seize the gates of Greece. In that interval



interval he indeed made an expedition to chastise the rebellious spirit of the Theſſalians. But the greatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with skill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The most ingenious artists of Greece were summoned, by liberal rewards, to the court of Macedon<sup>38</sup>; and men of talents<sup>39</sup> and genius, who were too often exposed to envy and persecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amidst the tumult of war, assiduously cultivated the studies of literature and eloquence. In his domestic government, Philip administered justice with impartiality, listened with condescension to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and disdaining the ceremonies and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourse of visits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals<sup>40</sup>.

C H A P.

XXXIV.

His occu-

pation

during a

long resi-

dence at

Pella.

A. C. 350,

&amp; 349.

In a prince so respectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and detestable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demosthenes<sup>41</sup>; yet the brief descriptions occasionally sketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient historian, who represents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony of Theopompus, a writer who flourished

His vices;

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in

<sup>38</sup> Justin. l. viii. c. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leosthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Aristodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. Æschin. & Demosthen. passim.

<sup>40</sup> Plut. in Apophth. & in Demosthen. & Alexand.

<sup>41</sup> Vid. Demosthen. ex edit. Wolf: pp. 5, 8, 48, 66, &c.

CHAP. in the age of Alexander, by whom he was re-  
 XXXIV. warded and honoured, not perhaps the less wil-  
 ~~~~~ lingly because he had exposed or exaggerated the  
 vices of his father, Philip sullied his great actions  
 by the most enormous and detestable crimes.  
 Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which  
 he had amassed by injustice and rapacity, he dis-  
 sipated in the most flagitious gratifications, and in  
 company with the meanest and most worthless of  
 mankind. His companions were chosen promif-  
 cuously from Macedonians and Greeks, and espe-  
 cially from Thessalians, the most profligate of the  
 Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and  
 friendship in proportion to their proficiency in the  
 most odious and unnatural abominations <sup>42</sup> that  
 ever

<sup>42</sup> The epithets given them by Theopompus are, *Βδελυροί*,  
*abominabiles*; and *λαεαυροί*; the last word is compounded of  
*λα*, *valde*, and *ταυρος*, *laurus*; and translated *insegnitur*  
*mentulatus*, which corresponds to the *enormitas membrorum*  
 of the Augustan historians. The following description of the  
 friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language. "Ho-  
 rum enim quidam jam viri barbam identidem radebant & vel-  
 lebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem vicissim se impudi-  
 cabant, stupris intercutibus se flagitantes; regi vero duo vel  
 tres circumducebantur qui paterentur muliebria, & eandem  
 operam navarent alios subagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure  
 aliquis non amicos regis, sed amicas esse credidisset, nec mili-  
 tes sed prostibula nuncupasset, ingenio quidem & natura san-  
 guinarios, moribus autem virilia scorta, &c." This passage  
 is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his  
 twenty-sixth book he speaks to the same purpose. "Philip-  
 pum cum Thessalos intemperantes esse, ac lascivæ petulan-  
 tisque vitæ prospiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia in-  
 stituisset; iisque uti placeret modis omnibus fuisse conatum,  
 cum illis saltasse, commissatum fuisse, cuivis libidini se ac ne-  
 quitiae tradidisse." A mistaken passage of Diodorus has made  
 some learned men doubt the authenticity of these descripti-  
 ons. Diodorus (l. xvi. sect. 3.) says, that Theopompus  
*γυγραψιναι οκτω βιβλους, προς τοις πενηκοντα εξ αν πιντε*  
*διαφωνησι*; "had written the history of Philip in fifty-eight  
 books,

ever polluted the worst men in the most corrupt CHAP. XXXIV.  
 ages of the world. We must, doubtless, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for severity. Yet there is sufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's strong propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkenness, rendered him a prey to buffoons, and parasites, and flatterers, and all the worthless retinue of intemperance and folly. These disgraceful associates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight hundred men, whose gradual waste was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or soon became, worthy of the old; for, as we shall soon have occasion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

But in whatever manner Philip employed his and private hours, he at no time lost sight of those great principles of policy which regulated his public administration. Under pretence of wanting money to supply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to such excess as threatens the safety of those governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting loose of the Delphic treasures had diffused near a million sterling over Greece<sup>43</sup>. The unsettled state of

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that

books, five of which differ in style from the rest." Were we therefore to suppose the five last books spurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the observation of Diodorus would not at all affect the passages above cited.

<sup>43</sup> The Sacred War lasted ten years, and cost the Phocians ten thousand talents, near two millions; it had already lasted five years, and may be supposed to have cost near the half of that sum. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 453. He says, that the gold



CHAP. that country rendered those who had acquired  
 XXXIV. wealth, very uncertain of enjoying it. With  
 the rich and avaricious, Philip employed proper agents to take up <sup>44</sup> money at high interest, which procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and person a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore, without suspicion, the various pensions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the several republics.

gold and silver dedications (which were coined into money) *ὑπερβαλλειν τα μυρια ταλιντα*, "exceeded ten thousand talents," a prodigious sum (considering the relative value of money in those days), of which the sudden diffusion could not fail to produce most important consequences.

<sup>44</sup> Justin. viii. 3.

## C H A P. XXXV.

*Negligence and Licentiousness of the Athenians.—Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa.—Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.—Philip invades the Olynthian Territory.—Demosthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians.—Expedition of Chares.—Philip takes Olynthus.—Celebrates the Festival of the Muses at Dium.—Commits naval Depredations on Attica.—His Embassy to Athens.—The Athenian Embassy to Philip.—Character of the Ambassadors.—Their Conference with the King.—Differently reported to the Senate and Assembly.—Philip's Conquests in Thrace.—The Phocian War.—Negociations.—Philip's Intrigues.—Decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis.—Executed by Philip.—Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.*

**T**HE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the king of Macedon, indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have considered themselves as principals, was neglected. Magistrates and people seemed only attentive to regulate public festivals and processions, and to ascertain the respective merit of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose altering

C H A P.  
XXXV.  
Negli-  
gence and  
licentious-  
ness of the  
Atheni-  
ans.  
Olymp.  
cvii. 4.  
A.C. 349.

CHAP. altering this unexampled and most whimsical  
 XXXV. destination. It was in vain for Demosthenes  
 to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed  
 and overcome by Eubulus and Demades, the  
 latter of whom, with talents that might have  
 adorned his country, condescended to sell its  
 interests to the public enemy.

Justified  
 by De-  
 mades.

Born in the lowest condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always discovered that sordid spirit, and weltered in those brutal excesses, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteness of his apprehension, the strength of his reason and memory, and, above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demosthenes<sup>1</sup> himself, raised him to a conspicuous rank in the assembly; and it being his business, as the hireling of Philip, to sail along with the stream of popular frenzy, which the patriotism of his rival endeavoured to struggle with, and to stem, he possessed a free and ample scope for exercising his abilities.

Philip's  
 intrigues  
 in Eubœa.  
 Olymp.  
 cvii. 4.  
 A.C. 349.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wisest and best of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and constitution of their country, when Philip began to play those batteries which he had patiently raised with such skill and secrecy. The island of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the first object of his attack. Since the expulsion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preserved their interest in the island, where they maintained a small body of troops.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Demosthen.



troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magistrates; they sometimes made war against each other; and separately assumed the prerogatives of free and sovereign states, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil discord; gained partisans in each city; and, at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed several Macedonian battalions in the island<sup>2</sup>.

Matters were soon disposed to his wish. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the most advantageous posts. The Athenian party claimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the interests of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demosthenes, who alone penetrated this dark scheme of villainy, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was single in his opinion. The confidants of Philip were true to their master, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to save the isle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude, ever in extremes, rushed with as much impetuosity to an enterprise intended for their ruin, as they had long shewn backwardness to engage in every other<sup>3</sup>. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the latter

<sup>2</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont. & Demosth. de Falsa Legation. & de Pace.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. de Pace.

CHAP. XXXV. latter had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foresee the consequences that happened, so contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a decisive victory, not by the strength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but by the wise choice of a general.

from  
which  
they are  
extricated  
by Phocion.

He defeats  
the Macedonians  
and Eubœans.

The consummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worse state than had been represented, risked no chance of defeat, and lost no opportunity of advantage. Having chosen a favourable post, which was on all sides surrounded by broken and uneven ground, he despised the clamours of his men, and the insults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in disorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, and confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a sacrifice, which he studiously prolonged, either from religion or policy, until he beheld the disorder of the assailants, embarrassed by the unequal ground, and by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to stand to their arms, and sallying from his entrenchments with intrepid valour, increased the confusion of the enemy, who were repelled with great slaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zeratra, in the northern corner of

Plutarch. in Phocion,

of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble resistance<sup>5</sup>. The garrison surrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubœans to liberty, left the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which, on a similar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylené<sup>6</sup>. Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ships drawn up in line of battle, their stems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the sound of martial music. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his success. Molossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the same dexterity, and met with better success<sup>7</sup>.

It is worthy of attention, that Demosthenes followed the standard of Phocion to Eubœa, though he had strongly disapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æschines, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak more fully, served in the cavalry. Demosthenes was reproached with being the first who deserted his rank, and among the last who returned to the charge. Æschines behaved with distinguished gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the first intelligence of the victory<sup>8</sup>.

Philip's

<sup>5</sup> Plut. in Phocion.

<sup>6</sup> See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. p. 79, & seqq.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. in Phocion.

<sup>8</sup> Æschin. de Falsa Legatione, & Demost. in Midiam.



CHAP.

XXXV.

Philip invades the territory of Olynthus.

Olymp.

cvii. 4.

A. C. 349.

The Olynthians implore the aid of Athens.

Philip's disappointment in Eubœa only stimulated his activity. His toils were spread so widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, against whom he seemed to have long forgotten his resentment, were astonished to observe that several of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable; that they enlarged their possessions, built stately palaces, and displayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invasion of Philip revealed the mystery. A considerable party had grown wealthy by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the ill-timed security of their country<sup>8</sup>. Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increased that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treason, but it seemed dangerous to punish it; and the Olynthians were more immediately concerned to repel the open ravagers of their territory. In this emergency they trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse<sup>9</sup>, but sent an embassy to Athens, inveighing in the strongest terms against Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and at last invaded and attacked them; and craving assistance from the Athenians, in consequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

Had

<sup>8</sup> Demosthen. Olynth. passim.<sup>9</sup> Demosth. de Falsa Legatione.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken C H A P. the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been XXXV. exposed a second time to the danger which he had eluded with so much address in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhausted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; the inferior states extended not their views of policy beyond their respective districts. But the Athenians, recently successful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the strength and resentment of such a republic as Olynthus, might have still rendered themselves formidable to the public enemy, especially as at this juncture the rebellious humours of the Theſſalians broke out afresh, and led them capriciously to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon. But to compensate these unpromising circumstances, Philip possessed strenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garrisons actually commanded the principal posts in Theſſaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were most favourable to his cause. The late success in Eubœa, which should have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a slothful security. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their shows and festivals, and all the ease and luxury of a city life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterprise, that might disturb the tranquil course of their pleasures. In this disposition they were encouraged by their perfidious orators, who strongly exhorted them to beware of involving themselves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the resentment of a prince whose power

State of  
parties in  
Athens.

**C H A P.** power they were unable to resist. The orator Demosthenes particularly distinguished his zeal in the Macedonian interest; advising an absolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambassadors.

First oration of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

Demosthenes at length arose, and as the design of calling the assembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the question under deliberation. "On <sup>10</sup> many occasions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this state, but never more manifestly than in the present juncture. That enemies should be raised to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, so determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation with Macedon, first as insidious, next as the destruction of their country, can be ascribed to nothing less than the bountiful interposition of heaven. With every thing else on our side, let us not be wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away, not only those cities and territories which we inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To insist on the power and greatness of Philip belongs not to the present subject. He has become great through

<sup>10</sup> I mean not a translation of Demosthenes. The inserting his speeches entire would destroy the humble uniformity of this historical work, with the design of which it would be inconsistent to transcribe what the orator found it necessary to say, repeat, and enforce so often. Besides, Demosthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been translated, as the late Mr. Harris says in his *Philosophical Enquiries*, by competent persons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in English; Mr. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Cesarotti, in Italian.



through your supine neglect, and the perfidy of CHAP.  
traitors whom it becomes you to punish. Such XXXV.  
topics are not honourable for you : I wave them  
as superfluous, having matter more material to  
urge. To call the king of Macedon perjured  
and perfidious, without proving my assertions,  
would be the language of insult and reproach.  
But his own actions, and not my resentment,  
shall name him ; and of these I think it neces-  
sary to speak for two reasons ; first, that he may  
appear, what he really is, a wicked man ; and,  
secondly, that the weak minds who are intimi-  
dated by his power and resources, may perceive  
that the artifices to which he owes them are now  
all exhausted, and that his ruin is at hand. As  
to myself, Athenians ! I should not only fear but  
admire Philip, had he attained his present height  
of grandeur by honourable and equitable means.  
But after the most serious examination I find,  
that at first he seduced our simplicity by the flat-  
tering promise of Amphipolis ; that he next sur-  
prised the friendship of Olynthus by the deceit-  
ful gift of Potidæa ; that, lastly, he enslaved the  
Thessalians, under the specious pretence of de-  
livering them from tyrants. In one word, with  
what community hath he treated which hath  
not experienced his fraud ? Which of his confe-  
derates hath he not shamelessly betrayed ? Can it  
be expected, then, that those who promoted his  
elevation, because they thought him *their* friend,  
will continue to support it, when they find him  
a friend to his own interest alone ? Impossible !  
When confederacies are formed on the principles  
of common advantage and affection, each mem-  
ber shares the toils with alacrity ; all persevere ;  
such confederacies endure. But when worth-  
lessness and lawless ambition have raised a single  
man,

CHAP. man, the slightest accident overthrows the unsta-  
 XXXV. ble edifice of his grandeur. It is not, No! Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. These may succeed for a while; but time reveals their weakness. For, as in a house, a ship, and in structures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts should be firm and solid, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true. But such qualities belong not to the actions of Philip <sup>11</sup>.

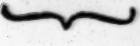
“ I am of opinion, then, that fearless of consequences, you ought to assist Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inflame their hostility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in resolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; show yourselves in earnest, and you will soon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed

<sup>11</sup> The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private transactions, “ honesty is the best policy,” was never expressed, perhaps, with such dignity, as in the following words of Demosthenes: *ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ’ εὐνοίας τὰ πρᾶγματα σῴη, καὶ πάλι ταῦτα συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετεχούσι τῆ πόλεως, καὶ συμπονεῖν, καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορας, καὶ μένειν ἐθελῶσι οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας τις, ὥσπερ ὅτος, ἰσχυρῇ, ἢ πρώτῃ προφασί, καὶ μικρὸν πταίσμα ἅπαντα ἀνγκαιώσῃ, καὶ διαλύσῃ. καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδίκαντα καὶ ἐπισηκνῶντα καὶ ψευδομένον, δύναμιν θεοσέειν κτήσασθαι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἅπαζ, καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον, ἀντεχί· καὶ σφοδρὰ γὰρ ἠνέστησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τύχῃ τῷ χρόνῳ δεφωραταί, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρίψῃ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, αἵματι, καὶ πλοῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ καταβῆναι ἰσχυρότατα εἶναι δεῖ, ὅτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς υποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δίκαιας εἶναι προσηκεῖ· τὴν δὲ ἐκ ἐνὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ. Demosthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.*

cealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That king-  
 dom has emerged from obscurity amidst the con-  
 tests of neighbouring states, during which the  
 smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient  
 to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon  
 is inconsiderable and weak, and its real weak-  
 ness is increased by the splendid, but ruinous ex-  
 peditions of Philip. For the king and his sub-  
 jects are actuated by very different sentiments.  
 Domineered by ambition, he disregards ease and  
 safety; but his subjects, who individually have  
 little share in the glory of his conquests, are in-  
 dignant, that, for the sake of one man, they  
 should be harassed by continual warfare, and  
 withdrawn from those occupations and pursuits,  
 which afford the comforts and happiness of pri-  
 vate life. On the great body of his people, Phi-  
 lip, therefore, can have no reliance; nor, what-  
 ever may be said of their valour and discipline,  
 can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I  
 am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity,  
 who has just arrived from Macedon, that none of  
 Philip's guards, even those whom he treats with  
 the affectionate, but deceitful names of compa-  
 nions, and fellow-soldiers, can merit his esteem,  
 without incurring his hatred and persecution.  
 Such is the intolerable jealousy, such the malig-  
 nant envy, which crowns the other odious vices  
 of this monster, who, defying every sentiment  
 of virtue and decency, drives from his presence  
 all who shudder, all who are disgusted, at the  
 most unnatural enormities, and whose court is  
 continually crowded by buffoons, parasites, ob-  
 scene poets, and drunkards; wretches who, when  
 drunk, will dance, but such dances <sup>12</sup> as modesty  
 dare

<sup>12</sup> The *πορδαλισμος*. Demosth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad A-  
 ristoph.



CHAP. dare not name. Slight and trivial as these mat-  
 XXXV.  ters may to some appear, they exhibit the worth-  
 lessness of Philip, and announce the infelicity  
 which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his  
 character are hid in the blaze of prosperity<sup>13</sup>; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is easy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the season of health, are insensible of what is weak and disordered in their constitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the first approach of sickness; so the glory of foreign conquest conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies; but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and those hitherto latent evils immediately become manifest.

“If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, because he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune<sup>14</sup> has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be persuaded to do but the smallest part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for *you*, surely, have better reason to trust in the assistance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, hesitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving seasons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if  
 the

ristoph. in nubib. From the description above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demosthenes's delicacy was merely complimentary.

<sup>13</sup> Secundæ res mihi sunt vitii obtentui. Sallust.

<sup>14</sup> From what is said below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demosthenes here means the dispensations of Providence; and, by good Fortune, the Favour of Heaven.

the indolent and careless are abandoned by their best friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, should assist us, if we will not help ourselves?"

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XXXV.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demosthenes, and seduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip<sup>15</sup> and their own deceitful passions, imprudently steered a middle course, which, in public affairs, is often the most dangerous. Convinced that the preservation of Olynthus was the best safeguard of Attica, yet, unwilling to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures, they determined to send Chares, with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the disgrace of his country and of his profession<sup>16</sup>, shewed no solicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which successively submitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a descent on the fertile coast of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over those contemptible cowards an easy and ludicrous victory, which served only to amuse the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any severer conflict; and disdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boastful, and voluptuous Audæus<sup>17</sup>;

The extravagant expedition of Chares.

VOL. III.

P

not,

<sup>15</sup> Philochorus in Dionys. Epist. ad Ammonium.

<sup>16</sup> Timotheus said of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

<sup>17</sup> Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτρον, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

CHAP. not, however, with the spoils of the vanquished,  
 XXXV. but with the sum of sixty talents, which he had  
 extorted from the Phocians, who were actually  
 in alliance with Athens <sup>18</sup>.

Philip be-  
 sieges O-  
 lynthus.

The thoughtless multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expensive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chastising the insolence of Philip <sup>19</sup>, when a second embassy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been shut up within their walls; they had lost Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of considerable strength, besides many inferior towns, which, on the first appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates <sup>20</sup>; and this shameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the king of Macedon observe to his generals, that he would thenceforth consider no fortress as impregnable, which could admit a mule laden with money <sup>21</sup>. Dejected by continual losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negociation, that they might at least amuse the invader till the arrival of the Athenian succours. Philip penetrated their design, and dexterously turned their arts against them; affecting to lend an ear to their proposals, but meanwhile continuing his approaches, till, having got within forty stadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one  
 was

<sup>18</sup> Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

<sup>19</sup> Demosthen. Olynth. ii.

<sup>20</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter somewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the king of Macedon boasted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.



was necessary, either *they* must leave Olynthus, or *be* Macedon<sup>22</sup>. This explicit declaration from C H A P.  
XXXV.  
an enemy, who often flattered to destroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long suspected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous sally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly signalised their valour<sup>23</sup>. But they were repulsed by superior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

In this posture of affairs, the ambassadors failed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter astonishment, the multitude still enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the ascendant of superficial qualities over the undiscerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partisan of democracy, and as such viewed, even by Demosthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, besides, well knew that the irregular, useless, or destructive operations of the Athenian arms ought not always to be charged on the misconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; sometimes not paid at all; and therefore disobedient and mutinous. Instead of submitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their resolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not persuade they threatened; and compelled even prudent commanders to measures wild, ruinous, and dishonourable.

P 2

Demof-

<sup>22</sup> Demosthen. Philipp. iii.<sup>23</sup> Id. *ibid.*

C H A P.  
XXXV.

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demosthenes.

Demosthenes, therefore, who again undertook to second the demands of Olynthus, waved all accusation against particular persons. After endeavouring to repress the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the supposed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he describes the real danger of their allies, which he persuades them to regard as their own. The crisis was now arrived; and if they neglected the present opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they must soon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occasions, which they had already lost, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hostile barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name sufficiently reproachful. "But some perhaps will say, it is the business of a public speaker to advise, not to upbraid. We wish to assist the Olynthians, and we will assist them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered most effectual. Appoint magistrates, Athenians! for the inspection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal those whose ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws relating to the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and some about the soldiery. By the first the soldier's pay is consumed, as theatrical expences, by the useless and inactive; the second screen from justice the coward who declines the service, and damp the ardour of the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till these laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, since his honest zeal must be repaid with destruction." After insisting still farther on this delicate and dangerous subject, Demosthenes

thenes probably observed displeasure and resentment in the countenances of his hearers, and then (as his custom was) artfully turning the discourse: "I speak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not so mad as without necessity to offend; but because I think it the duty of a public speaker to prefer your interest to your pleasure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourselves know it) of those ancient and illustrious orators whom all unite to praise, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Aristides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whose name <sup>24</sup> I bear. But since ministers have appeared who dare not address the assembly, till they have first *consulted* you about the *counsels* which they ought to give, who ask, as it were, What shall I propose? What shall I advise? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleasure? the sweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poison; our strength is enervated, our glory tarnished, the public beggared and disgraced, while those smooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and splendour <sup>25</sup>. Consider, Athenians!

how

<sup>24</sup> Demosthenes, who acted such a distinguished part in the Peloponnesian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 103, & seqq.

<sup>25</sup> It is worthy of observation that, in this discourse throughout, Demosthenes insists that the people at large enjoyed much less authority in his time than in the days of Aristides, &c. All depends, he asserts, on the popular orators and magistrates, "*οἱ πολιτευόμενοι*." Yet it is well known that, since the age of Aristides, the government had become more democratical. Demosthenes himself allows this: the orators, he says, dare not address the people now with that freedom which they used formerly.—This apparent contradiction shews the nature and tendency of that species of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy.—The populace are the slaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Instead of liberty, there is an interchange of servitude.



CHAP. how briefly the conduct of your ancestors may  
 XXXV. be contrasted with your own; for if you would pursue the road to glory and happiness, you need not foreign instructors: it will be sufficient to follow the example of those from whom you are descended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accustomed, held, with general consent, the sovereignty of Greece for sixty-five years<sup>26</sup>; deposited above ten thousand talents in the citadel; kept the king of Macedon in that subjection which a Barbarian owes to Greece; erected many and illustrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had achieved by land and sea: in a word, are the only people on record whose glorious actions place them above the reach of envy. Thus great in war, their civil administration was not less admirable. The stately edifices which they raised, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence; but, in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, and so scrupulous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the house of Aristides or Miltiades, he will find them undistinguished above the contiguous buildings by any superior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of those illustrious statesmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themselves<sup>27</sup>; and this just moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotism, raised their country (and no wonder!) to the height of prosperity.

<sup>26</sup> Demosthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See vol. ii. p. 313, in the note.

<sup>27</sup> Privatus illis census erat brevis  
 Commune magnum.

Hor. ode xv. l. ii.

perity. Such was the condition of Athens under those sincere and honest men. Is it the same, or nearly the same, under the indulgence of our present ministers? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what solitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians lost; the Thebans harassed by war; no other republic worthy of aspiring to the sovereignty. Yet at this period, when we might not only have defended our own possessions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been stripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitlessly; we have lost, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our ancestors had acquired; and we have raised up and armed a most formidable enemy against ourselves. If not, let the man stand forth who can show from what other cause Philip has derived his greatness. But the miserable condition of our foreign affairs is, perhaps, compensated by the happiness of our domestic state, and the splendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, *fountains*, and *jollies* <sup>23</sup>! And the ministers who have procured us those magnificent advantages, pass from poverty and meanness to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which insult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes less, and gradually rise on its ruins. What is the source of this disorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in person, and thus kept the magistrates in awe."

The

<sup>23</sup> Πηγαι και ληραι. Demosthenes disdained not such a gingle of words when it presented itself naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never sought for it.

CHAP.  
XXXV.

Licenti-  
ousness of  
the Athe-  
nian  
troops un-  
der the  
profligate  
Charide-  
mus.

The assembly remained insensible to the motives of interest and honour. Instead of taking the field in person, they sent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand, with an hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the slave of his mercenaries, and of his own detestable passions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiæa, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the besieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another sally, in which they were defeated and repelled with considerable loss. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiousness. The beastly Charidemus had neither inclination nor ability to restrain their irregularities. According to his custom, he drank, at every meal, to a scandalous excess: his brutality insulted the women of Olynthus; and such was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the senate, as a reward for his pretended services, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city<sup>29</sup>.

The cause  
of the O-  
lynthians  
vigorously  
supported  
by Æschi-  
nes and  
Demos-  
thenes.

In this state of affairs, the Olynthians a third time applied to Athens. On the present occasion, Æschines, who afterwards became such an active partisan of the Macedonian interest, particularly distinguished his zeal and his patriotism. The speech of Demosthenes, to the same purpose, is still on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to send to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the same time to make a diversion,

<sup>29</sup> Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 436.



diversion, by invading the Macedonian coast. CHAP. XXXV.  
 Unless both be done, the indefatigable industry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever considered the rapid progress of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methonè; from thence he poured his troops into Thessaly, and became master of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and seated himself on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken sceptres. I speak not of his expedition against the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus, —and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?—To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has lost, and the unextinguishable ardour of an adversary, whose successive conquests continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this assembly, whose blindness perceives not that the sufferings of the Olympians are the forerunners of our own? The present conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouse from your lethargy, and to profit by this last testimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have despised and forgotten: I say *forgotten*; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by those who have understanding to preserve and to enjoy them. The spendthrift dissipates his thankfulness with his wealth<sup>30</sup>; and the same imprudent

<sup>30</sup> The observation is uncommon, but just: ἀλλὰ οἶμαι, παρομοίον εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτησίως· ἀν μὲν γὰρ ὄσση

CHAP. dent folly renders him both miserable and un-  
 XXXV. grateful." After these bold expostulations, or  
 rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve  
 Olynthus, by observing, that Philip would never  
 have undertaken the siege of that place if he had  
 expected such a vigorous resistance; especially at  
 a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when  
 the Thessalians wished to throw off the yoke; when  
 the Thracians and Illyrians longed to recover their  
 freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately represented  
 as so formidable, is by no means real and solid; one  
 vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him; and the  
 passion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered  
 subservient to the purpose of the orator. He again  
 touches on the article of supplies; but with such  
 caution as shews that his former more explicit  
 observations had been heard impatiently. "As to  
 money for the expences of the war (for without  
 money nothing can be done), you possess, Athenians!  
 a military fund exceeding that of any other  
 people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it  
 from its original destination, to which were it  
 restored, there could not be any necessity for  
 extraordinary contributions. What! do you  
 propose in form that the theatrical money should  
 be applied to the uses of the soldiery? No, surely.  
 But I affirm, that soldiers must be raised; that  
 a fund has been allotted for their subsistence;  
 and that in every well-regulated community,  
 those who are paid by the public, ought to serve  
 the public. To profit of the present conjuncture,  
 we must act with vigour and celerity, we must

ὅσα αὖ τις λάβῃ καὶ σωσῇ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τῆς χάρις. αὖ δὲ  
 ἀναλωσας λάβῃ, συναναλωσὶ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι τῇ τύχῃ τῆς χάρις.  
 Demost. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

must dispatch ambassadors, to animate the neighbouring states against Philip; we must take the field in person. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a similar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus resists, we may ravage the territories of Philip; should that republic be destroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to say nothing too severe, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! those who, without our assistance, cannot defend themselves. O! but he dares not come! It is madness to think that the designs of which he already boasts with such bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his success<sup>31</sup>. I think it unnecessary to describe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to subsist an army in the country, your husbandmen would sustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a distance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced!

CHAP.  
XXXV.

<sup>31</sup> With all his policy, Philip seems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated: "Α, δὲ ἰκεῖνα Φιλίππος λαβὼν, τίς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ καλῶσι δ' οὐρα βαδίζουσιν; Θηβαῖοι; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν ἔπειν ἢ, καὶ συνιστάλωσι στοίμῃς. ἀλλὰ Φοκίαι; οἱ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ τε οὐτὲς φυλαττοῦν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθήσῃτε ἡμῖν· ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔχῃ.—βυλῆσθαι τῶν ἀποπνυγμένων μύθοι ἀν' εἰς, εἰ ἂν οὐκ αἰοῖαν ἐφλίσκων, ὅμως ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα δύνηθαι μὴ πράξει. I have used a little freedom with the "ἔχῃ βυλῆσθαι."



CHAP. XXXV. duced! Add to this, the insult and disgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Philip  
takes O-  
lynthus.  
Olymp.  
cviii. 1.  
A.C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed; an embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip; and it was determined to assist the Olynthians, with an army of Athenian citizens. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great spirit against the besiegers. As the works were too extensive to be completely invested, the Olynthian horsemen made frequent incursions<sup>32</sup> into the surrounding territory, where they not only supplied themselves with provisions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced posts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. These advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various skirmishes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened since the commencement of the siege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horse, displayed such valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the success of his undertaking. His secret emissaries were therefore set to work; perfidious clamours were sown among the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was publicly accused; and, by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to banishment on a suspicion of treason<sup>33</sup>. The command of the cavalry was bestowed on Lathenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had sold their country to Philip.

Having

<sup>32</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. 53.

<sup>33</sup> Demosth. de Falsa Legatione.

Having obtained some previous successes, which had been concerted the better to mask their designs, they advanced against a Macedonian post; carried it at the first onset; pursued the flying garrison; and betrayed their own troops into an ambush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all sides, the Olynthians surrendered their arms; and this fatal disaster encouraging the Macedonian partisans within the walls, soon opened the gates of Olynthus<sup>34</sup>. The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demolished the city, and dragged the inhabitants into servitude<sup>35</sup>. Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and their associates, shared the same, or even a worse fate. Philip is said to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian soldiers, who butchered them almost before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his justice or his pride always detested the traitor<sup>36</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXXV.

The conquest of Olynthus put Philip in possession of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea; an acquisition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that

This important conquest inspires Philip with the ambition to seize

<sup>34</sup> Demosth. de Falsa Legatione.

<sup>35</sup> Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians: 1. Philip had lost a great many men in the siege; πολλὰς τῶν στρατιῶν ἐν ταῖς τυχομαχίαις ἀπώ-  
λαν. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities: διαρκῶς δὲ αὐτὴν (scil. Ὀλυνθον) καὶ τὰς ἐνικνύσας ἐξ ἀνδραποδισαμένων, εὐαφροπαλῆσι τῷ διὰ πράξας, χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὡς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπορήσει. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, "That he might deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures." Diodor. p. 450.

<sup>36</sup> Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 3.

Thermopylæ and the Hellespont.

CHAP. side round and complete. His kingdom was  
 XXXV. now bounded, on the north by the Thracian  
 possessions of Kerfobleptes, and on the south by  
 the territory of Phocis, a province actually com-  
 prehending the straits of Thermopylæ, which had  
 formerly belonged to a different division of Greece.  
 Besides the general motives of interest, which  
 prompted him to extend his dominions, he dis-  
 cerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the  
 Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, since the for-  
 mer was emphatically styled the Gates of Greece,  
 and the latter formed the only communication  
 between that country and the fertile shores of  
 the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population  
 the proportion of its extent and fertility, an-  
 nually drew supplies of corn from those north-  
 ern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had  
 settlements even in the remote peninsula of Crim  
 Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Chersones-  
 sus, by means of which they purchased and im-  
 ported the superfluous productions of that remote  
 climate<sup>37</sup>. Their ships could only sail thither by  
 the Hellespont; and should that important strait  
 be reduced under the power of an enemy, they  
 must be totally excluded from an useful, and  
 even necessary, branch of commerce.

Philip ce-  
 lebrates  
 the festi-  
 val of the  
 Muses at  
 Dium.  
 Olymp.  
 cviii. 1.  
 A. C. 348.

Philip perceived these consequences. It was  
 the general interest of all the Grecian republics  
 to assist Kerfobleptes and the Phocians, which  
 was, in other words, to defend the Hellespont  
 and Thermopylæ. The interest of the Macedo-  
 nian was diametrically opposite; nor could he ex-  
 pect to accomplish the great objects of his reign,  
 unless he first rendered himself master of those  
 important posts. This delicate situation furnish-  
 ed a proper exercise for the dexterity of Philip.

After

<sup>37</sup> Demosthen. in Leptin.



After the destruction of Olynthus, he celebrated C H A P. XXXV.  
 a public festival of gratitude and joy, at the  
 neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the  
 Olympian and other Grecian games, all the re-  
 publics were promiscuously invited, whether  
 friends or enemies.<sup>38</sup> It appears that several  
 Athenians assisted at these magnificent entertain-  
 ments, which lasted nine days, in honour of the  
 Muses, and which wanted no object of elegance  
 or splendor, that either art could produce, or  
 wealth could purchase. The politeness and con-  
 descending affability of Philip obliterated the re-  
 membrance of his recent severity to Olynthus;  
 and his liberal distribution of the spoils of that un-  
 fortunate city<sup>39</sup> gained him new friends, and con-  
 firmed the attachment of his old partisans.

Amidst these scenes of rejoicing and festivity, Philip un-  
 Philip seems not to have forgotten, one moment, expectedly  
that commits  
naval de-  
predations  
on Attica.

<sup>38</sup> Demosth. de Falsa Legatione; & Diodor. p. 451.

<sup>39</sup> Both Demosthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and still more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the king, according to his custom, was distributing his presents; amidst the general festivity, Satyrus alone wore a sad countenance. The king addressed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, desired him to ask a boon. Satyrus said, that such presents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) seemed to him of little value: That he had indeed something to ask, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were sent to Olynthus, taken captive, and subjected to all the calamities of servitude. These are the presents I request, not with any design unworthy of their father or myself, but that I may give them such portions as shall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the personal enemy, of Philip; yet this prince granted the request of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

CHAP. that the most immediate object of his policy was  
 XXXV. to detach the Athenians from the cause of Phocis  
 and Kerfobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpose, while he courted individuals with peculiar address, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the insidious proposal of a separate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the sea open to the Macedonians, who had silently acquired a considerable naval force. Philip begun to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary islands of Lemnos and Imbros; surprised and took a squadron of Athenian vessels, stationed on the southern coast of Eubœa; and, encouraged by these advantages, boldly sailed to Attica, made a descent on the shore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence they proceeded to the isle of Salamis, and defeated a considerable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illustrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the insults of the Macedonians, whose fleet returned home in triumph, adorned with hostile spoils, and with military and naval glory <sup>40</sup>.

His intrigues  
 give him  
 possession  
 of Eubœa.

The activity of Philip seconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering the island from the tyranny and extortions of Molossus, the Athenian commander, he landed such a body of troops there,  
 as

<sup>40</sup> In the chronology of these events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his *Life of Philip*, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themselves are related in the oration of Demosthenes commonly entitled the First Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, considers as two distinct orations spoken at different times.

as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have disgusted that people with the war against Philip, whose hostility, directed against them alone, seemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kerfobleptes; when His deceitful embassy to Athens; secret but zealous partisans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambassadors from Eubœa, commissioned to settle amicably all differences between the two countries. They observed, that Philip had left the island absolutely free and independent; and that, though constrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was sincerely desirous of making peace with the Athenians. The representations of the Eubœan ambassadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, the first distinguished as a player, the second as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own country, to forward the measures of their liberal protector. They affirmed that the king of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men, whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who had remitted the riches amassed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public service.

Demosthenes saw through these dark and deep artifices <sup>in vain exposed by Demosthenes.</sup> <sup>41</sup>; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. "Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters

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Q

<sup>41</sup> Demosthenes, de Chersoneso, & de Pace.



CHAP. matters of the highest moment, you could not  
 XXXV. have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence,  
 nor me with more resentment <sup>42</sup>."

Æschines  
 returns  
 from his  
 embassy,  
 and awak-  
 ens the  
 public re-  
 sentment  
 against  
 Philip.

Such was the disposition of the assembly, when Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian embassy. He had assembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partisans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embassy, he inveighed with great severity against those mercenary traitors, who had sold the interest of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their danger. The miserable fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their eyes. At his return through Peloponnesus, he had beheld a sight sufficient to melt the most obdurate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both sexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a present from Philip to some of the unworthy instruments of his ambition <sup>43</sup>.

The susceptible and ever-varying temper of the multitude was deeply affected by the representations of Æschines; the pacific advices of Neoptolemus and his associates were forgotten; war and revenge again echoed through the assembly. At the requisition of Æschines, ambassadors were dispatched to confirm the hostile resolutions of the Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neighbouring republics. The Athenian youth were as-  
 sembled

<sup>42</sup> Demosthen. de Chersoneso.

<sup>43</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione, sect. 5.

sembled in the temple of Agraulos to swear irreconcilable hatred against Philip and the Macedonians; and the most awful imprecations were denounced against the mercenary traitors, who cooperated with the public enemy. This fermentation might at length have purified into strong and decisive measures; and had Philip possessed only an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy might have been yet formed in Greece sufficient to repel the Macedonian arms. But that consummate politician thought nothing done while any thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the slightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes.

C H A P.  
XXXV.

An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom<sup>44</sup>. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very judiciously supposed that the king of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of injustice and impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negotiate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy; imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the

Dexterity  
of that  
prince in  
diverting  
the storm.

Q 2

ambassa-

<sup>44</sup> *Æschines de Falsa Legatione.*

CHAP. XXXV. ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the king apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present mission, since he had nothing more sincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic<sup>45</sup>. At their return to Athens, the representations of such men could not be without weight; nor could they fail being extremely favourable to the king of Macedon.

He improves every favourable incident.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no less dexterity<sup>46</sup>. At the taking and sack of Olynthus, Stratocles and Eucrates, two Athenians of distinction, had been seized and carried into Macedon. By some accident these men had not been released with the other prisoners. Their relations were uneasy for their safety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper person might be sent to treat of their ransom. Aristodemus was employed in this commission, but was more attentive to paying his court than performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whose vigilance never slept, and who well knew the hostile resolutions in agitation against him at Athens, released the prisoners without ransom, and dismissed them with the highest expressions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the assembly, blazed forth the praises of the king of Macedon,

<sup>45</sup> *Æschines de Falsa Legatione.*

<sup>46</sup> *Id. ibid.*



Macedon, and loudly complained against the CHAP.  
careless indifference of Aristodemus, who had XXXV.  
neglected to report his embassy <sup>47</sup>.

The artful player, thus called upon to act his The Athe-  
part, excused his omitting to relate *one* example nians are  
of kindness, in a man who had recently given so persuaded  
many proofs of the most unbounded generosity. to send an  
He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of embassy to  
Philip, and especially on his profound respect for Philip.  
the republic, with which, he assured them, the  
king of Macedon was earnest to conclude a peace,  
and even to enter into an alliance, on the most ho-  
nourable and advantageous terms. He probably  
reminded them of the misfortunes which had at-  
tended their arms since they commenced war  
against this prince. Fifteen hundred talents ex-  
pended with disgrace; seventy-five dependent  
cities, including these of the Chalcidic region,  
lost irrecoverably; Olynthus destroyed; Eubœa  
revolted; Athens dishonoured and exhausted;  
and Macedon more powerful and more respected  
than at any former period. This representation  
did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of  
the war had long inclined to peace the more mo-  
derate and judicious portion of the assembly.  
The artificial generosity of Philip, in his treat-  
ment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the  
eloquence of Aristodemus, fixed the wavering ir-  
resolution of the multitude. The military pre-  
parations were suspended. Even Demosthenes  
and Æschines yielded to the torrent; and ima-  
gining that a bad peace was better than a bad  
war, (since it was impossible to expect success  
from the fluctuating councils of their country)  
supported

<sup>47</sup> Æschines de Falsa Legatione.

CHAP. supported a decree <sup>48</sup> of Philocrates for sending a  
 XXXV. herald and ambassadors to discover the real intentions of Philip, and to hearken to the terms of accommodation with which he had so long amused them.

Character  
 of the am-  
 bassadors.

The ministers appointed to this commission seem to have been purposely chosen among men of opposite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly testified their confidence in the king of Macedon, were opposed by Æschines and Demosthenes, who had long discovered their suspicions of that prince. To the embassy were added Nauficles and Dercyllus, men distinguished by the public offices which they had discharged with equal patriotism and fidelity; Jatrocles, the chosen friend of Æschines; and Cimon, illustrious for the name he bore, which descended to him from the greatest and most fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, besides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was sent on the part of the Greek islands, in alliance with Athens <sup>49</sup>.

Difficulties occasioned by the quarrel between Demosthenes and Æschines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in describing the events which followed the departure of the ambassadors, all is inconsistency and contradiction. The quarrel that arose between Æschines and Demosthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furnish us, in the accusation and defence, with the fullest and most diffuse, but at the same time the least authentic, materials,

<sup>48</sup> The decree was attacked by one Licinus. Demosthenes defended it; and both Demosthenes and Æschines, as appears from the text, were on the embassy.

<sup>49</sup> Demosthen. & Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.

materials, that present themselves in any passage of Grecian history. The whole train of the negotiation, as well as the events connected with it, are represented in colours the most discordant; facts are asserted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the assembly before which they spoke, to the testimony of witnesses, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumstances that must appear very extraordinary, unless we consider that suborning of witnesses, perjury, and even the falsifying of laws and records, were crimes not unusual at Athens<sup>50</sup>. Amidst this confusion, the discerning eye of criticism would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. Æschines was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing positive can be learned from a partial sentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increased to such an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided ascendant even in the Athenian assembly.

To disentangle such perplexity, we shall keep Account chiefly to those facts which are allowed on both sides, deducing from them such consequences as seem most natural and probable. In the course of one year, three embassies were sent to Philip; the first to propose a peace, the second to ratify it, the third to see the conditions of it observed; and in that space of time Kerfobleptes, being stripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip having seized Thermopylæ, invaded Phocis, and destroyed the twenty two cities of that province in less than twenty-two days.

<sup>50</sup> See my Discourse on the Character and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to Lyfias and Isocrates.



CHAP. XXXV. days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himself master of Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, the most valuable safeguards of Greece—having invaded and desolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the most respectable for its antiquity power and wealth, the seat of the Amphiſtyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi—These daring measures tended so little to excite the displeasure of Greece, that the king of Macedon had no sooner accomplished them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which she had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphiſtyonic states.

Diffention  
of the am-  
bassadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which history scarcely offers another example for the instruction of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambassadors. "The felicity of Philip," he says, "consists chiefly in this; that having occasion for traitors fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his most sanguine hopes and prayers". This, doubtless, is the exaggeration of an orator, desirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embassy, and particularly that of his adversary Æschines. Yet it will appear, from the most careful survey of the events of those times, that the incapacity and neglect, if not the treason, of the Athenian ministers, greatly contributed to the success of the Macedonian arms.

From

<sup>51</sup> Subsequent writers have copied the language of Demosthenes, *και χρηματων πληθος διαδους τοις εν ταις πολιαι ισχυουσι, πολλης ισχει προδοτας των πατριδων.* Diodorus, ubi supra.

From the first moment of their departure CHAP. XXXV. from Athens, the ambassadors began to betray their mutual jealousies and suspicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Conference of the ambassadors with Philip. Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æschines and Demosthenes<sup>52</sup>; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, so much disgusted the other ambassadors, by the morose severity of his temper, that they had almost excluded him their society; a circumstance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adversary, but by the resentment and indignation always expressed by Demosthenes against the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and spoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their seniority. Speech of Æschines. The discourse of Æschines was the most copious and elaborate, but seemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian assembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the king, the favours of the Athenians towards his ancestors; the distressed condition of the children of Amyntas; the solicitations of Euridicé; and the generous interpositions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched slightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the injustice of those hostilities which Philip had committed against the republic, especially in taking Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He insisted on the impropriety of retaining this possession, which as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conquest, not being gained in any war between

<sup>52</sup> Demosthen. & Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.

C H A P. tween the two states. In the time of profound  
 XXXV. peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had  
 taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city,  
 which it concerned his justice and his honour to  
 restore, without delay, to its lawful and acknow-  
 ledged owners."

That of  
 Demos-  
 thenes.

Had Æschines wished to furnish Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, he could not have done it more effectually than by such a demand. It could not possibly be expected, that a victorious monarch should set bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchase peace by tamely surrendering one of the most important of his acquisitions. In this light the proposal appeared to Demosthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embassy, the distressed state of Athens, how greatly the people had been harassed by the war, and how eagerly they wished for peace. It was now his own turn to speak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whose character and actions he had ever viewed and represented with the utmost severity; but whom, on the present occasion, it was his business to sooth rather than to irritate. The novelty of the situation might have disconcerted a man of less sensibility than Demosthenes. The envious jealousy of his colleagues was prepared to listen, with a malicious ear, to those irresistible arguments which the orator is said to have promised, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected some prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired master. Amidst the silent suspense of an unfavourable audience, Demosthenes began to speak with ungrateful hesitation, and after uttering a  
 few

His em-  
 barrass-  
 ment and  
 confusion.



few obscure and interrupted sentences, his memory totally forsook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarrassment with a mortifying politeness, telling him that he was not now in a theatre <sup>53</sup>, where such an accident might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to pursue his intended discourse. Demosthenes again began, but without better success. The assembly beheld his confusion with a malignant pleasure; and the ambassadors were ordered to withdraw.

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After a proper interval, they were summoned to the royal presence. Philip received them with great dignity, and answered with precision and elegance the arguments respectively used by the several speakers, particularly those of Æschines. The confused hints of Demosthenes he passed over with merited neglect, thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with most severity in the tumultuous assemblies of Greece, had not dared to say any thing in his presence which deserved the smallest notice or reply. The ambassadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demosthenes is said to have behaved with great weakness, and where Philip displayed such powers of merriment and festivity, as eclipsed his talents for negotiation and war. The ambassadors were persuaded of his candour and sincerity, and dismissed with a letter to the people of Athens, assuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as soon

Philip answers the ambassadors;

invites them to an entertainment.

Their departure from Macedon.

<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding the passion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their consideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were extremely severe against their negligences and faults on the theatre; as appears from various passages of the judicial orations of Demosthenes and Æschines.

CHAP. as they consented to an alliance with him, he  
 XXXV. would endeavour to evince those sentiments of  
 affection and respect which he had ever entertained  
 for their republic.

Artifices  
 of Demos-  
 thenes.

The mortification which Demosthenes had received, made him at first vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair representation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over resentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confusion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æschines; and endeavoured, by promises and flattery, to ingratiate himself with those whom his recent behaviour had justly provoked and disgusted. In a conversation at Larissa in Thessaly he acknowledged the masterly reasoning of the king of Macedon. The ambassadors all joined in the praises of this extraordinary man. Æschines admired the strength and perspicuity with which he had answered their respective discourses; and Ctesiphon cried out in transport, that, in the course of a long life, he had never beheld a man of such a polite and engaging deportment. Demosthenes then artfully said, "he apprehended they would not venture to make such representations to the Athenian assembly; that their honour and safety required them to be consistent in their reports;" to which they all assented; and Æschines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the intreaties of his rival to promise, that he would give a favourable and false account of the behaviour of Demosthenes, and assure the people of Athens, that he had  
 spoken

spoken with dignity and firmness on the affair of Amphipolis.

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According to the forms of the republic, the ambassadors first reported the success of their negotiation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the senate of the Five Hundred. They explained in order, what each had said in presence of the king; when Demosthenes rising up the last, affirmed with his usual oath of asseveration<sup>54</sup>, "that the ambassadors had not spoken in the senate as they did before Philip; that they had spoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they should be honoured with a crown of sacred olive<sup>55</sup>, and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum<sup>56</sup>.

They re-  
port their  
negociati-  
on to the  
senate.

The day following, they made their report to the assembly of the people; when the ambassadors, finding the subject not disagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negotiate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhaust this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose, and, after those contortions of body, which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally surpris'd at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of such trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them.

The same  
reported  
to the as-  
sembly.

Extraordi-  
nary be-  
haviour of  
Demof-  
thenes.

<sup>54</sup> *Μα δὲ*, indecently explained "by Jove," since the expression is elliptical, and includes a short prayer, *εὐχόμενος τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ περ*; "my assertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

<sup>55</sup> See the Discourse of Lyfias on an accusation for cutting down a consecrated olive.

<sup>56</sup> *Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.*



CHAP. them. "The negotiation may be briefly re-  
 XXXV. ported. Here is the decree by which we are  
 commissioned. We have executed this commis-  
 sion. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the  
 letter). You have only to examine its contents."  
 A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some  
 applauding the strength and precision of the speech,  
 others condemning the asperity of the speaker. As  
 soon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus pro-  
 ceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those  
 superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memo-  
 ry and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I  
 find nothing extraordinary, since any other man,  
 placed in the same advantageous circumstances of  
 rank and fortune, would be equally attended to  
 and admired. Ctesiphon praises the gracefulness  
 and dignity of his person; my colleague Aris-  
 totodemos does not yield to him in these particu-  
 lars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at ta-  
 ble; yet in such qualities Philocrates excels him.  
 But this is unseasonable. I shall therefore draw  
 up a decree for convening an extraordinary as-  
 sembly, to deliberate on the peace and the al-  
 liance <sup>56</sup>."

Philip  
 sends am-  
 bassadors  
 to Athens,

The decree was proposed on the eighth of  
 March, and the assembly was fixed for the seven-  
 teenth of the same month. In the interval, ar-  
 rived, as ambassadors from Philip, Antipater, the  
 most respected of his ministers; Parmenio, the  
 bravest of his generals; and Eurylochus, who  
 united, in an equal degree, the praise of elo-  
 quence and valour. Parmenio had been employ-  
 ed in the siege of Halus, a place filled with mal-  
 contents from Thessaly, who still resisted the Ma-  
 cedonian power in that country. That he might  
 have

<sup>56</sup> Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.

have leisure to join his colleagues, Parmenio or-  
 dered the siege to be converted into a blockade; CHAP. XXXV.  
 and the merit of three such ambassadors sufficiently announced the important purposes which Philip wished to effect by the present negotiation. They were received with great distinction by the senate, and (what seems extraordinary) lodged in the house of Demosthenes, who was careful to adorn their seats in the theatre, and to shew them every other mark of honour<sup>57</sup>. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the assembly, they declared the object of their commission, to conclude in the name of their master a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demosthenes, in an elaborate speech, urged the expediency of listening to their demands; but without neglecting the interest of the Athenian allies. Æschines delivered the same opinion, and severely reproached Philocrates, who urged the necessity of precipitating the treaty. The two who corrupt Æschines.  
 first days were spent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demosthenes, by the unexpected accession of Æschines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a strenuous defender of the interest of Kerfobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was necessary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the slow deliberations of other powers. That the circumstances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual situation, it was an idle vanity to attend to those who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their ancestors; that the weakness of Athens was no longer called on to undertake

<sup>57</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

CHAP. take the protection of every state that could not  
XXXV. defend its own cause <sup>58</sup>."

During  
the nego-  
ciation,  
Philip  
continues  
to make  
conquests  
in Thrace.

Demosthenes had formerly suspected the treachery of Æschines; but this speech fully convinced him, that if his adversary had not before sold himself to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambassadors. But Demosthenes, and the assembly in general, saw the necessity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coast of which the Athenians still possessed Serrium, Doriscus, and several other tributary cities. A decree was proposed for this purpose, and ambassadors were named, who might, with all convenient speed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty just concluded at Athens. The ambassadors were Eubulus, Æschines, Ctesiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian interest, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kerfobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the success of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriscus, which readily submitted to his arms <sup>59</sup>. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians dispatched Euclides to inform the king of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been so instructed by his ambassadors, nor was there any men-  
tion

<sup>58</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

<sup>59</sup> Demosthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.



tion of those cities in the treaty recently sign-  
ed, but not yet ratified, between the two C H A P.  
XXXV.  
powers.

Æschines and his colleagues still delayed to Third em-  
set out, although the conduct of Philip continu-  
ally urged the necessity of hastening their depar-  
ture. They were finally ordered to begone, in  
consequence of a decree proposed by Demost-  
henes<sup>60</sup>, who was unable to prevail on the Athe-  
nians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the  
interest of Kerfobleptes. In twenty-five days  
the Athenian ministers arrived at Pella, a jour-  
ney which they might have performed in six;  
and instead of directly proceeding to Philip, who  
was employed in reducing the cities on the Pro-  
pontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks,  
the return of that monarch to his capital. Dur-  
ing their residence in Pella, they were joined by  
Demosthenes, who, at his own request, had been  
added to this commission, under pretence of ran-  
soming some Athenian captives, but in reality  
with a view to watch the conduct of his col-  
leagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambaf-  
sadors were called to an audience. On this oc-  
casion they spoke, not as formerly, according to  
their respective ages, but in an order, if we be-  
lieve Æschines, first established by the impu-  
dence of Demosthenes; whose discourse, as re-  
presented by his adversary, must have appeared  
highly ridiculous, even in an age when the de-  
cent formality of public transactions was little  
known or regarded.

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, Speech of  
he observed, "That they were unfortunately Demof-  
VOL. III. R divided thenes;

<sup>60</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

CHAP. divided in their views and sentiments. That his  
 XXXV. own were strictly conformable to those of Philip.  
 From the beginning he had advised a peace and  
 alliance with Macedon. That he had procured  
 all possible honours for the ambassadors of that  
 country during their residence in Athens, and  
 had afterwards escorted their journey as far as  
 Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had  
 been misrepresented to Philip, on account of  
 some expressions that had dropped from him in  
 the Athenian assembly. But if he had denied  
 the superior excellence of that prince in beauty,  
 in drinking, and in debate <sup>61</sup>, it was because he  
 believed such qualities to belong to a woman, a  
 sponge, and a hireling rhetorician and sophist,  
 rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty  
 conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited  
 the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and  
 made the Athenian ambassadors hold down their  
 heads in confusion <sup>62</sup>.

of Æs-  
 chines.

Æschines first recovered his composure; and  
 modestly addressing Philip, observed, "That the  
 present was not a proper occasion for the Athe-  
 nian ministers to praise or to defend their own  
 conduct. They had been deemed worthy of  
 their commission by the republic which employ-  
 ed them, and to which alone they were account-  
 able <sup>63</sup>. Their actual business was to receive  
 Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already  
 concluded on the part of Athens. The military  
 preparations carrying on in every part of Mace-  
 don

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 240.

<sup>62</sup> Æschin. de Falsa Legatione.

<sup>63</sup> The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is in-  
 imitably graceful and dignified. *Λόγους ὅτι περιέχουσιν ἡμῶς Ἀθη-  
 ναῖσι πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, &c.* Vid. p. 261, & seqq. edit. Wolf.

don could not but excite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at least a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The sacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be punished with due severity; the state itself must be spared; since the laws and institutions of Greece guard the safety of every Amphictyonic city. *Æschines* then spoke, in the severest terms, against the injustice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to prophesy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the same falsehood and ingratitude with which they had been accustomed to requite their former allies and benefactors." CHAP.  
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The discourse of *Æschines*, though it could not be expected to move the resolutions of the king, was well calculated to raise the credit of the speaker, when it should be reported in his own country. Philip confined himself to vague expressions of friendship and respect. The ambassadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumstance which furnished him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compassionate concern for that republic; and requested the Athenians to accompany him to Theffaly, that he might make use of their abilities and experience to settle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate presence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithstanding the king, who had ordered the army to march, was attended in this expedition by the ambassadors of Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians,

Philip's  
profound  
dissimula-  
tion in  
treaties  
with the  
Athenian  
ambassa-  
dors.



CHAP. were daily entertained at his table, and whose  
 XXXV. views were diametrically opposite to the interests  
 of Phocis and of Athens <sup>64</sup>.

The Pho- The unhappy and distracted situation of the  
 cian war former republic promised a speedy issue to the  
 carried on Sacred War, which, for more than two years,  
 with little had been feebly carried on between the Phocians  
 activity on on one side, and the Thebans and Locrians on  
 either side. the other, by such petty incursions and ravages  
 Olymp. as indicated the inveterate rancour of comba-  
 cviii. 2. tants, who still retained the desire of hurting,  
 A. C. 349. after they had lost the power <sup>65</sup>. During the  
 greater part of that time, the Athenians, amuse-  
 ed by their negotiation with Philip, afforded no  
 assistance to their unfortunate allies. The trea-  
 sures of Delphi, immense as they were, at length  
 began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned  
 and exhausted, reflected with terror and remorse  
 on their past conduct; and in order to make  
 atonement for their sacrilegious violations of the  
 temple, instituted a judicial enquiry against Pha-  
 leucus, their general, and his accomplices, in  
 plundering the dedications to Apollo <sup>66</sup>. Several  
 were condemned to death; Phaleucus was de-  
 posed; and the Phocians, having performed these  
 substantial acts of justice which tended to remove  
 the odium that had long adhered to their cause,  
 solicited with better hopes of success the assistance  
 of Sparta and Athens.

The Spar- But the crafty Archidamus, who had long di-  
 tans claim rected the Spartan councils, considered the dis-  
 the super- tress of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity  
 intendence to  
 of the  
 temple.

<sup>64</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

<sup>65</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.

<sup>66</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

to urge the claim of his own republic to the superintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually sent ambassadors into Thessaly, to confer with the king of Macedon on that subject <sup>67</sup>. The Athenians paid more attention to the request of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in possession of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ. But this salutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thousand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, established his head-quarters at Nicæa, and despised the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

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Phaleucus  
and his  
mercena-  
ries seize  
Nicæa.

Mortifying as this disappointment must have been, it was followed by a disaster in another quarter still more terrible. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier against the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by some auxiliaries of Macedon, marched against that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued, in their disordered flight, through the surrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took refuge in the temple of Abæan Apollo, where they remained for several days, sleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, straw, and other combustible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was consumed, while the

Disaster of  
the Pho-  
cians in  
the temple  
of Abæan  
Apollo.

<sup>67</sup> Demosthen. & Æschin. ubi supra.

CHAP. the unhappy Phocians were stifled, or burnt to  
 XXXV. ashes<sup>63</sup>.

The The-  
 bans insti-  
 gate Philip  
 to desolate  
 Phocis.

The Thebans failed not to represent this calamity as a judgment of heaven, against the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their sacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to assist them in destroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpose of their embassy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to spare the nation, while he punished the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardless of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianship of the Delphic temple.

Philip at-  
 tempts in  
 vain to  
 corrupt  
 the The-  
 ban am-  
 bassadors.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankness and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew so well to disguise the interests of his policy and ambition. He assured the Thebans, that his arms should be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphosseum, which, ever ready to rebel against a tyrannical capital, had readily submitted to the Phocians, during their invasion of Bœotia. The Phocians, he said, had rendered themselves the objects of divine displeasure; it would be as meritorious to punish, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies should suffer those calamities which their crimes so justly deserved. Thus far Philip was sincere; for, in these particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in  
 his

<sup>63</sup> Diodorus, p. 454.



his mind he agitated other matters, in which the interest of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accomplish those purposes, without offending his allies, it was necessary to gain the ambassadors. Caresses, flattery, and promises, were lavished in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuse liberality; but though no man ever possessed more address than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honest and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotism and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embassy, answered for his colleagues: "We are already persuaded of your friendship for us, independent of your presents. Reserve your generosity for our country, on which it will be more profitably bestowed, since your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its ministers<sup>69</sup>."

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Demosthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambassadors of Athens. But these ministers, though one object of their commission was to save the Grecian state which the Thebans wished to destroy, discovered neither integrity nor spirit. All of them, but Demosthenes himself, accepted the presents of the king of Macedon, who found little difficulty in persuading men, thus prepossessed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians, that he respected Athens; that he detested the insolence of Thebes; and that, should he ever proceed to the straits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present, however, he observed, that he had private reasons for managing the friendship

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambassadors.

<sup>69</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

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XXXV.

ship of a people who set no bounds to their resentment. From such motives, he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this measure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that to save appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a conclusion; and, for the more secrecy, transacted in a place which Demosthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambassadors took leave, affecting to be persuaded (perhaps persuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the king of Macedon. About the same time, the ambassadors of Sparta departed, but with far less satisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at least made such a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian interest, and the destruction of the Phocians; and that, should the Spartans persist in their claim to the superintendence of the Delphic temple, they must prepare to assert it by force of arms.

Philip's  
flattering  
letter to  
the Athenians.

Archidamus raised an army for this purpose, and marched towards the straits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we shall have occasion to relate, rendered his hostility as impotent as his negotiations had been fruitless. From Thessaly that prince had already sent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the most artful terms. He expressed his profound respect for the state, and his high esteem for its ambassadors; declaring that he should omit no opportunity of proving  
how

how earnestly he desired to promote the prosperity and glory of Athens. He requested that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could most effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance, he was careful to make no mention; but after many other general declarations of his good-will, he entreated them "not to be offended at his detaining their ambassadors, of whose eloquence and abilities he wished to avail himself in settling the affairs of Thessaly <sup>70</sup>.

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Soon afterwards these ambassadors returned home; and having given an account of their negotiation to the senate of the Five Hundred, with very little satisfaction to that select body, they next appeared before the popular assembly. *Æschines* first mounted the rostrum, and in an elaborate and artful discourse, set forth the advantages resulting from his successful embassy, in which he had persuaded Philip to embrace precisely those measures which the interest of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace instead of war, and that, without harassing themselves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amusements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had passed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a design of seizing the temple, were not the less culpable (as had been proved to Philip) because they had failed in this impious purpose. That the Boeotian allies of Thespiæ and Plataea, whose hatred

<sup>70</sup> Demosthen. & *Æschin.* ubi supra.



C H A P.

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hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was sincere, would be restored to their pristine strength and splendor. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of sacrilege and profanation. That the magistrates of Thebes foresaw the hostility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," said Æschines, "devoted me to destruction, and actually set a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their island will be restored to us, as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are these the only advantages of the treaty: another point of still higher importance, a point of the most intimate concern to the public, has been secured. But of this I shall speak at another time, since at present I perceive the envy and malignity of certain persons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with such significant obscurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a considerable city on the Athenian frontier, which had long been subject to Thebes.

The suspicions of Demosthenes ridiculed by his colleagues.

This specious harangue, so flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithstanding the opposition of Demosthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all those great advantages promised by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æschines and Philocrates heard him with the supercilious contempt of men who possessed a secret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his discourse, and to expose their artifice and insincerity,

cerity, all was clamour, indignation, and insult. C H A P. XXXV.  
 Æschines bad him remember not to claim any share of the rewards due to the important services of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleasantry, said, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demosthenes were less sanguine than his own, "since he drinks water; I wine." This insipid jest was received with loud bursts of laughter and applause, which prevented the assembly from attending to the spirited remonstrances of Demosthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between Athens and Macedon. In the same decree, it was determined that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the republic<sup>71</sup>.

These articles, together with the secret motives which produced them, were, by the emissaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambassadors then residing at Athens; who, transported with joy at the prospect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, lost no time in transmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the ministers of Athens could never be so bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reasonable doubt of the favourable disposition of the king of Macedon. This belief was so firmly established, that when Archidamus marched

The success of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambassadors at Athens; which makes the Phocians reject the assistance of Sparta.

<sup>71</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

**C H A P.** marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple against Philip, the  
**XXXV.** Phocians rejected his assistance, observing, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themselves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponnesus <sup>72</sup>.

Philip negotiates with Phaleucus the cession of Nicæa.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterprise. Halus, long besieged, had submitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Fresh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeased; the Lacedæmonians had retired; the Phocians were imposed on; the Thessalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his standard. One obstacle only remained, and that easy to be surmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, still kept possession of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the interest of his own republic, could not be very obstinate in defending the cause of Greece. Philip entered into a negotiation with him, in order to get possession of Nicæa <sup>73</sup>, without which it would have been impossible to pass the Thermopylæ; and while this transaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip continues to veil his designs in obscurity.

He suspected the dangerous capriciousness of a people, whose security might yet be alarmed; and whose opposition might still prove fatal to his designs, should they either march forth to the straits, or command their admiral, Proxenus, who was stationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian

<sup>72</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

<sup>73</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.



cedonian convoys; for the frontiers both of Phocis and Thessaly having long lain waste in consequence of the sacred war, Philip received his provisions chiefly by sea. The seasonable professions of friendship, contained in the letters, not only kept the Athenians from listening to the remonstrances of Demosthenes, but prevailed on them to depute that orator, together with Æschines, and several others, whose advice and assistance Philip affected to desire in settling the arduous business in which he was engaged. Demosthenes saw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important crisis, from his duty in the assembly: He therefore absolutely refused the commission. Æschines, on pretence of sickness, staid at home to watch and counteract the measures of his rival. The other ambassadors departed, in compliance with the request of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of seeing a treaty fulfilled which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with consequences equally advantageous and honourable <sup>74</sup>.

While the ambassadors travelled through Eubœa, in their way to join the king of Macedon, they learned, to their utter astonishment, the wonderful events that had been transacted. Phaleucus had been persuaded to evacuate Nicæa. He retired towards Peloponnesus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to sail to Italy, where he expected to form an establishment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a descent on the coast of Elis. After this they re-embarked,

Disasters  
of Phaleu-  
cus and  
his fol-  
lowers.

<sup>74</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legatione.

**CHAP.** barked, and sailed to Crete, where their invasion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponnesus, they were defeated by the Elians and Arcadians. The greater part of those who survived the battle, fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were shot with arrows, or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant escaped to their ships, but perished soon afterwards in an insurrection which they had excited, or fomented, in the isle of Sicily. The destruction of this numerous body of men is ascribed by ancient historians<sup>75</sup> to the divine vengeance which pursued their sacrilege and impiety. It is astonishing that those superstitious writers did not reflect on the swifter and more terrible destruction, that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedness of Phaleucus and his followers had been so recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been punished with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis;

Philip having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer. He had promised to plead their cause before the Amphictyonic council, to the decisions of which that credulous people consented to submit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might easily controul the resolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; those of the southern republics had not even been summoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Thessalians

<sup>75</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xx. gives this as the general opinion.

lians alone composed the assembly that was to CHAP.  
decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they XXXV.  
had persecuted with unrelenting hostility in a  
war of ten years. The sentence was such as  
might be expected from the cruel resentment of  
the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians  
should be excluded from the general confederacy  
of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right  
to send representatives to the council of Am-  
phictyons: that their arms and horses should be  
sold for the benefit of Apollo; that they should  
be allowed to keep possession of their lands, but  
compelled to pay annually from their produce  
the value of sixty thousand talents, till they had  
completely indemnified the temple; that their  
cities should be dismantled, and reduced to dis-  
tinct villages, containing no more than sixty  
houses each, at the distance of a furlong from  
each other; and that the Corinthians, who had  
recently given them some assistance, should there-  
fore be deprived of the presidency at the Pythian  
games; which important prerogative, together  
with the superintendence of the temple of Del-  
phi, as well as the right of suffrage in the Am-  
phictyonic council, lost by the Phocians, should  
thenceforth be transferred to the king of Ma-  
cedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons,  
having executed these regulations, should next  
proceed to procure all due repairs and expia-  
tions to the temple, and should exert their wis-  
dom and their power to establish, on a solid  
foundation, the tranquillity and happiness of  
Greece <sup>76</sup>.

This

<sup>76</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & seqq.



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which is  
cruelly ex-  
ecuted by  
the Mace-  
donians.  
Olymp.  
cviii. 2.  
A. C. 347.

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miserable people with such terror and dismay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* measures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the rest, endeavoured, with unequal strength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered tombs of their ancestors. Their feeble resistance was soon overcome; all opposition ceased; and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with such undisturbed order and silence as seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a sigh, since the smallest mark of regret was construed into an obstinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the destruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephissus covered with ruin and desolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flourished above nine centuries in splendour and prosperity, and which will ever flourish in the song of Homer, so totally burned or demolished as scarcely to leave a vestige of their existence<sup>77</sup>. After this terrible havoc of whatever they possessed most valuable and respected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the settlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of

<sup>77</sup> Pausanias in Phocic. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & seqq.

of stern and unrelenting masters. At the distance of three years, travellers, who passed through Phocis to visit the temple of Delphi, melted with compassion, or shuddered with horror, at the sight of such piteous and unexampled devastation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the shattered ruins of a country, and a people, once so illustrious; the youth, and men of full age, had either perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe. <sup>78</sup>

The unexpected news of these melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then assembled in the Piræus to examine the state of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with consternation. They imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Thessaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and desolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes, which marked the utmost danger and dismay. It was resolved, "that the Athenians, who usually resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city

CHAP.

XXXV.

The news of these events produce consternation in Athens.

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S

city

<sup>78</sup> Demost. & Æschin. de Falsa Legat. & de Coron.

CHAP. city or the Piræus; that those at a greater distance should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleufis, Phylé, Aphidna, and Sunium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory <sup>79</sup>.

Philip writes the Athenians in a style very different from what he had formerly used.

This decree shews, that terror was the first movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was the second. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls, they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coast, was ordered again to direct his course towards that country. The king of Macedon was duly attentive to those transactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emissaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that style of superiority which the success of his policy, and of his arms, justly entitled him to assume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for supporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently signed and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aside this unwarrantable design, which could have no other effect than to show the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming against a prince, with whom they had so lately concluded an alliance. "But if you persist, know that we are prepared for repelling your hostilities with equal firmness and vigour."

This

<sup>79</sup> Demosthen. de Falsa Legat. sect. 20.



This mortifying letter was received at the same time that the Athenian ambassadors returned from Eubœa, and brought such accounts of the destruction of the Phocians, that it appeared scarcely possible to afford them any relief. All that remained was to save, from the unrelenting vengeance of their enemies, the miserable wreck of that unfortunate community. The Athenians passed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindness, and for providing them with settlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a resolution which, though it was founded on the most evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable cruelty of the Thessalians and Thebans<sup>80</sup>.

Amidst these transactions the Macedonian partisans, and especially Æschines and Philocrates, whose vain assurances had been attended with such fatal effects, had just cause to dread the resentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this disgraceful scene of intrigue and delusion, no longer affected sickness; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he disregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to stir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld, the destruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adversary, as he would have seen the conclusion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary interest, he repaired to Philip to re-

CHAP.  
XXXV.  
The Athenians pass a decree for receiving the fugitive Phocians.

Philip protects the Phocians against the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

S 2

ceive

<sup>80</sup> Demosthenes & Æschines de Falsa Legat. sect. 20.

CH A P. ceive the wages of his iniquity. Æschines ac-  
 XXXV. counts for his journey at this time by a more  
 honourable, but less probable cause, the desire of  
 saving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the  
 Phocian nation, who were persecuted to extremity  
 by the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian  
 foes, and protected, at the intercession of the  
 Athenian orator, by the clemency or compas-  
 sion of the Macedonians. There is reason to  
 believe that Æschines, in order to gain merit  
 with his countrymen, whose resentment he had  
 so highly provoked, opposed an inhuman reso-  
 lution of precipitating from rocks all those of  
 the Phocians who had attained the age of pu-  
 berty. But the king of Macedon, whose cha-  
 racter was not naturally flagitious, or cruel  
 without necessity, must, of his own accord,  
 have been inclined to avert such an atrocious  
 and bloody sentence, which, without promoting  
 his interest, would have for ever ruined his  
 fame.

and the  
 Boeotians  
 against the  
 cruelty of  
 Thebes.

This conclusion appears the more probable,  
 since, we are assured, that, upon the same prin-  
 ciple, but with far less success, he assumed the  
 protection of the oppressed Boeotians. Orcho-  
 menus, Coronæa, Hyampolis, with other cities  
 of less note in Boeotia, were, in consequence of  
 the ruin of their Phocian allies, again subjected  
 to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always  
 haughty and unrelenting, who, on this occasion,  
 prepared to treat the rebels with more than her  
 usual insolence and cruelty. Philip espoused the  
 cause of the injured with a generous ardour, ex-  
 tremely disagreeable to the Thebans. His hu-  
 manity,

manity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partisans in most republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their own country by the intolerable oppression of Theban tyranny, sought refuge in the compassionate bosom of Athens<sup>81</sup>.

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Having finished the sacred war in a manner so favourable to his own interest and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphiſtyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and assisted in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices offered to Apollo, in acknowledgment of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious king of Macedon, who had been the principal instrument of their success, resounded in the sacred Pœans, sung in honour of the God. The Amphiſtyons ratified all the transactions of that prince, erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a solemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body<sup>82</sup>. Philip at the same time appointed deputies to preside at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which most of the Grecian states had already sent their representatives. The Athenians, stung with indignation and regret, abstained from this festival. An embassy was therefore dispatched to them in the name of the Amphiſtyons, requiring their concurrence with

Macedon  
declared  
by the Am-  
phiſtyons  
a member  
of the Hel-  
lenic body.  
Olymp.  
cviii. 3.  
A. C. 346.

<sup>81</sup> Demosthen. & Æschines de Falsa Legat. sect. 20.

<sup>82</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. 60.



CHAP. with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had so lately contracted an alliance.

Even the Athenians admit this pretension.

The deliberations of the Athenian assembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the consummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of heaven, for repressing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting, with vigour and boldness, was now no more; that the cause of Greece was an empty name, since the Greeks surrendered their dignity to the king of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to consult rather its safety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even <sup>81</sup> recommended this resolution; lest, says he, we should offend those now assembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourselves. The Thebans, beside ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incensed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Thessalians resent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Messenians, and Megalopolitans are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may assault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally

<sup>81</sup> Demosthen. de Pace.

tally unable to resist. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you; but of what kind soever it may be, it were more for the interest of your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it. This opinion was universally approved; Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the highest merit and reputation, addressed a discourse to Philip in which he exhorted him, to disdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguish, for ever, the animosities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, against the wealth and effeminacy of Persia, its ancient and natural enemy <sup>84</sup>.

Whether these exhortations proceeded from the virtuous simplicity which did not suspect, or from the insinuating and artful policy which, though it suspected, hoped to prevent, the hostile projects <sup>85</sup> of Macedon, the measures of Philip were, doubtless, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be shaken by the specious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invasion of Asia; the conquest of the Persian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own passions, nor the argu-

<sup>84</sup> Isocrat. Orat. Philipp.

<sup>85</sup> See the Life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

CHAP. arguments of other men, could hasten, retard,  
XXXV. or vary his undeviating progress in a system  
which could only be completed by consolidat-  
ing his ancient, before he attempted new con-  
quests.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XXXVI.

*Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria.—Alexander receives the Persian Ambassadors.—Affairs of Greece.—Demosthenes unmasks the Designs of Philip.—Philip's Expedition to the Peloponnesus—to Epirus—to Thrace.—Diopetbes opposes him with Vigour.—The Athenians recover Eubœa.—Siege of Perinthus.—Philip's Letter to the Athenians.—Expedition of Chares—of Phocion—who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace.—Philip's Scythian Expedition.—The Incendiary Antiphan.—Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece.—The third Sacred War.—Philip General of the Amphictyons.—Confederacy against that Prince.—He seizes Elatœa.—Battle of Chæronea.—His Moderation in Victory.—Demosthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.*

**B**Y his intrigues Philip had obtained more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long series of victories. The conquest of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpose; while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealousy of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of a nation whom he was ambitious to subdue, Philip disarmed the hostility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his designs. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to set bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs;

C H A P.  
XXXVI.Philip  
evacuates  
Greece;  
Olymp.  
cvi. 4.  
A. C. 345.

CHAP. triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting  
 XXXVI. by premature force, what might be safely accom-  
 plished by seasonable policy. Before evacuating  
 Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in  
 Nicæa, which might thenceforth secure his free  
 passage through the straits of Thermopylæ. Ma-  
 cedonian troops occupied the principal cities of  
 Thessaly, and the strongest posts of Phocis. He  
 conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand  
 Phocian captives; an acquisition which he regard-  
 ed as not the least valuable fruits of his success;  
 and of which, on his return home, he determined  
 immediately to avail himself,

founde  
 Philippo-  
 polis and  
 Cabyla;  
 The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often  
 vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued.  
 In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those  
 northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Phi-  
 lippopolis and Cabyla<sup>1</sup>, the first at the western  
 extremity of the country, on the confines of  
 mount Rhodopé, the second towards the east, at  
 the foot of mount Hæmus, above an hundred  
 and fifty miles distant from each other, and al-  
 most equally remote from the Macedonian capital.  
 The Phocian captives, blended with a due propor-  
 tion of Macedonian subjects, well provided with  
 arms for their defence, were sent to people and  
 cultivate those new settlements, whose flourishing  
 condition soon exceeded the expectation of their  
 founder. At the same time, Philip planted a  
 colony in the isle of Thasos, which had formerly  
 belonged to the Athenians; but that people having  
 already lost possession of the gold mines at Phi-  
 lippi, on the neighbouring coast of Thrace,  
 seemed now so indifferent about the possession of  
 Thasos,

plants a  
 colony in  
 in the isle  
 of Thasos.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither <sup>2</sup>.

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XXXVI.

In such occupations, chiefly, Philip employed His expedition to the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large sums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian sea. This district, about sixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable salt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus king of Persia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedon, sent the most trusty of his ministers, who, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the great king, might examine with their own eyes the strength and resources of a monarch, which were represented as so formidable.

In the absence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is said, that during an entertainment given to the Persian ambassadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wisdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character <sup>3</sup>. Among other questions,

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. de Haloneso.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: "ὡς ἐκείνους (the ambassadors) θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μὴδὲν ἡγισθαι πρὸς τὴν τῷ παιδὶ ὄρμην καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην."—Read μεγαλοψυχίαν, and then the



CHAP. questions, that could not have been expected from  
 XXXVI. his age, he enquired into the nature of the Persian  
 government and art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads<sup>4</sup>. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, seem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom which so wonderfully distinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wise and great king<sup>5</sup>."

Philip's  
 transac-  
 tions in  
 Thessaly,  
 Eubœa,  
 and Me-  
 gara.  
 Olymp.  
 cix. 1.  
 A. C. 344.

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the dominion of Macedon<sup>6</sup>. While Philip was thus

the sentence may be literally explained; "So that the ambassadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his son." I recollect not having met with *μεγαλοπρεπείας* in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a person "who busies himself about great objects."

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Alexand.

<sup>5</sup> I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, *ὡς ὁ πᾶσι ἄνθρωποις βασιλεὺς μέγας ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος πλῆσιος*. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>6</sup> Demosth. Philipp. iii.

thus employed in Theſſaly, his agents were not CHAP. P.  
 leſs active in confirming the Macedonian autho- XXXVI.  
 rity in the iſle of Eubœa. Nor was he ſatisfied  
 with ſecuring his former acquiſitions; he aſpired  
 at new conqueſts. The barren and rocky terri-  
 tory of Megara, divided, by an extent of only  
 ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the iſth-  
 mus of Corinth. The induſtrious and frugal  
 ſimplicity of this little republic could not defend  
 its virtue againſt the corrupt influence of the Ma-  
 cedonian<sup>7</sup>. Philip gained a party in Megara,  
 which he cultivated with peculiar care; becauſe,  
 being already maſter of Bœotia, Phocis, and  
 Theſſaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians  
 formed the chief obſtacle to his free paſſage into  
 the Peloponneſus, the affairs of which, at this  
 juncture, particularly deſerved his attention.

The Lacedæmonians, repulſed by Philip, whom Philip  
 they had condeſcended to ſolicit, rejected by the prepares  
 Phocians, whom they offered to aſſiſt, and having to protect  
 loſt all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the the infe-  
 Delphic temple, totally deſerted a ſcene of action, rior com-  
 in which they could expect neither profit nor ho- munities  
 nour, and confined their politics and their arms of the  
 within the narrow circle of their own peninſula. Pelopon-  
 For almoſt two years, Archidamus had laboured neſus a-  
 with undivided attention, and with his uſual ad- gainſt the  
 dreſs and activity, to extend the pretenſions and oppreſſi-  
 ons of  
 the power of Sparta over the territories of Meſſenê, Sparta.  
 Argos, and Arcadia. His meaſures, planned with  
 prudence, and conducted with vigour, were at-  
 tended with ſucceſs, though the inhabitants of the  
 dependent

<sup>7</sup> Demotheen. de Falfa Legatione, & Philippi. iii. In Phi-  
 lipp. iv. he ſpeaks as if Philip had made ſome open attempt  
 againſt Megara, in which he had failed: ταυτης (ſcil. Ευβοιας)  
 ελιγωρημενης, Μεγαρα ἑαλω παραμικρον, p. 54.

CHAP. dependent provinces bore with much regret and  
 XXXVI. indignation the yoke of a republic, which they  
 had formerly spurned as oppressive and intolerable. Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into hostility by the Thebans, the eternal enemies of Sparta, and, at that time, closely allied with the king of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requesting him not to permit the destruction of their confederates in the Peloponnesus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a considerable influence in that country, which he was glad of an opportunity to increase. To justify his proceedings for this purpose, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceless communities which had so often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this resolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip sent troops and money into the Peloponnesus, and prepared to march thither in person, at the head of a powerful army<sup>s</sup>.

The Corinthians  
 prepare to  
 interrupt  
 his march.

These transactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The Corinthians<sup>9</sup>, jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, still more recently, had taken possession of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppose his passage into the Peloponnesus. Weapons and defensive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary

<sup>s</sup> Demosth. de Pace.

<sup>9</sup> Lucian de Conscribend. Histor.



mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exercised in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; insomuch that Diogenes the Cynic, who lost no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with just contempt the hurry and vain bustle of the effeminate Corinthians, that seemed so ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to roll about his tub<sup>10</sup>, lest he should be the only person unemployed in so busy a city.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less alarmed, but always better prepared for war, solicited the assistance of Athens. The latter state had received a considerable accession of strength, as well as of just honour and respect, from its hospitable reception of the distressed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new consideration and lustre from the general congress of ambassadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messenê, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to assert their respective claims before the Athenian assembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest satisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually assisted each

<sup>10</sup> Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. That learned writer has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the moveable habitation of this philosopher would be sufficiently attested by ancient monuments. See Winckelmann, d'Hancarville, &c.

CHAP. each other, in seasons of calamity, to make a  
 XXXVI. firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigour in  
 defence of their own and the public safety, so  
 shamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by  
 the mob of Peloponnesus<sup>11</sup>. The Thebans joined  
 with the ministers of Philip, in calling on the  
 Athenians to adhere strictly to their treaty of  
 peace recently concluded with that prince; they  
 endeavoured, by art and sophistry, to varnish or  
 to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence as could  
 not be altogether denied; and laboured with the  
 utmost assiduity to separate the views and interests  
 of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important  
 emergency. The ambassadors of the inferior  
 states of Peloponnesus loudly complained, that the  
 Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of  
 liberty, should favor the views of Sparta, which  
 had so long been the scourge of Greece. They  
 represented this conduct as not only unjust and  
 cruel, but contradictory and absurd; and used  
 many plausible arguments to deter the people of  
 Athens, who still strenuously asserted the freedom  
 of Bœotia, from taking such a part in the present  
 quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnesus.

Artful representations of the Macedonian partisans in Athens. The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, exhorted their countrymen not to break too hastily with a prince with whom they had so recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and destructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with so much difficulty. They observed, that although the measures of Philip, since the conclusion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than

<sup>11</sup> Οχλος Πελοποννησου. Isocrat. in Archidam.

than to the Athenians, he had considered himself C H A P. XXXVI.  
 as bound in justice to chastise the sacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was compelled to treat the enemies of those states with a severity which his own feelings disapproved. But the time was arrived when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatea, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the insolent cruelty of Thebes. These observations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleasure those who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their personal service, in such active measures as could alone set bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a discourse, which the king of Macedon is said to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration <sup>Answered by Demosthenes.</sup> <sup>12.</sup> “When you heard described, men of Athens! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotism of those who support the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to listen to such speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hostile designs against

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against

<sup>12</sup> Plut. in Vit. Demosth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.



CHAP. against Greece, the more difficult it is to propose  
 XXXVI. any seasonable advice. The cause of this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition must be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If speeches and reasonings sufficed, we should long ere now have prevailed over our adversary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the superiority in what forms respectively the chief object of our study and concern; we in our assemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the measures, and points out the dangerous designs of Philip. “Immediately after the peace, the king of Macedon became master of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made such an use of these acquisitions as suited the interest of Thebes, not of Athens. Upon what principle did he act thus? Because governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or justice, but by an insatiable lust of power, he saw the impossibility of bending the Athenians to his selfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew that the loftiness of their character would never stoop to any private consideration, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of justice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to sacrifice to a partial and temporary interest, the general safety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the same ardour as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more assailable; he knew their folly and their meanness to be such, that provided he heaped benefits on themselves, they would assist him to enslave their neighbours. Upon the same principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship of the Messenians  
 1 and

and Argives; a circumstance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, since Philip thus declares his persuasion, that you alone have wisdom to understand, and virtue to oppose, his designs; that you foresee the drift of all his negotiations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains such an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely followed the standard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous patriots from whom you are descended spurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who acted as the ambassador of Persia, and preferring the public interest to their own, provoked the devastation of their territory, and the destruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which can never be celebrated with due praise. For such reasons, Philip chooses for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Messenë, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former states possess not greater strength, wealth, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *power*, but less *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the merits of their cause; since, if Cheronæa and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes, Argos and Messenë are justly subject to Lacedæmon; nor could it be equitable to enslave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the same time to teach those of Peloponnesus to rebel.

“ But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can

CHAP. be alledged in his defence). Surrounded by the  
 XXXVI. Theſſalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was  
 obliged to aſſiſt allies whom he diſtrufteſt, and to  
 concur with meaſures which he diſapproved.  
 Hence the ſevere treatment of Phocis, hence the  
 cruel ſervitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa.  
 The king of Macedon, being now at liberty to  
 conſult the dictates of his own humanity and  
 juſtice, is deſirous to re-eſtabliſh the republic of  
 Phocis; and, in order to bridle the insolence of  
 Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Ela-  
 tæa. This, indeed, he meditates, and will me-  
 ditate long. But he does not *meditate* the de-  
 ſtruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpoſe he has  
 remitted money, he has ſent his mercenaries; he  
 is prepared, himſelf, to march at the head of a  
 powerful army. His preſent tranſactions ſuffici-  
 ently explain the motives of his paſt conduct. It  
 is evident that he acts from ſyſtem, and that his  
 principal batteries are erected againſt Athens it-  
 ſelf. How can it be otherwiſe? He is ambitious  
 to rule Greece; you alone are capable to thwart  
 his meaſures. He has long treated you unwor-  
 thily; and he is conſcious of his injuſtice.  
 He is actually contriving your deſtruction, and  
 he is ſenſible that you ſee through his de-  
 ſigns. For all theſe reaſons he knows that you  
 deteſt him, and that ſhould he not anticipate your  
 hoſtility, he muſt fall a victim to your juſt ven-  
 geance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watch-  
 ing a favourable moment of aſſault, and practiſ-  
 ing on the ſtupidity and ſelfiſhneſs of the Thebans  
 and Peloponneſians; for if they were not ſtupid  
 and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of  
 the Macedonian policy. I once ſpoke <sup>13</sup> on this  
 ſubject

<sup>13</sup> During his embaffy to Peloponneſus, mentioned above.



subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was useless to them, may, perhaps, not unseasonably be repeated to you. “Men of Argos and Messenë! you remember the time when Philip caressed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generously bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have listened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territories of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by one another. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thessalians ever conjecture that the same prince would subject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been persuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you, Messenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip smiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him insulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have discovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raised by the labour of man, and supported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike useful to all, especially to free cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preserve

CHAP.  
XXXVI.

CHAP. preserve this carefully, and no calamity can befall  
 XXXVI. you <sup>14</sup>."

Impeach-  
 ment of  
 Æschines  
 and Philo-  
 crates.

Demosthenes then read to the assembly the schedule of an answer, which he advised to be given to the ambassadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the same time he exhorted his countrymen to deliberate with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by which they might resist the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* seemed possible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition, dismembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless." Had the orator stopped here, his advice might have been followed with some useful consequences. But in declaiming against the encroachments of Macedon, his resentment was naturally inflamed against Philocrates, Æschines, and their associates, whose perfidious intrigues and machinations had produced the public danger and disgrace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and consign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleased to attend the courts of justice at home, than to march into the Peloponnesus. The city resounded with the noise of trials and accusations. Philocrates was banished <sup>15</sup>, and Æschines nearly escaped

<sup>14</sup> Demosthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

<sup>15</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphon.

escaped the same fate, by proving the profligate life of his accuser Timarchus <sup>16</sup>.

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Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved by his enemies, was sailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the most southern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, besieged and took Trinasus, a maritime city of considerable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity <sup>17</sup>. The alarm was so general, that it has been thought worth while to record the saying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidst the public consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "should I fear him? he cannot hinder us to die for our country <sup>18</sup>." But this manly resolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they sent Agis, the son of king Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to submit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expressed his surprise. "What, have the Spartans sent but one!" "Am I not sent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis <sup>19</sup>. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for

<sup>16</sup> Argum. in Æschin. Orat in Timarch.

<sup>17</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

<sup>18</sup> Frontin. l. iv. c. v.

<sup>19</sup> Plut. Apophth.



CHAP. for the king of Macedon, though unwilling  
 XXXVI. to provoke the despair of a people, whose degenerate virtue might yet be animated by the institutions of Lycurgus, and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to resign their pretended authority over Argos, Messenë, and Arcadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he solemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be entrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnafias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Messenë, to Neon and Thrasyllochus, the sons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit eternal oblivion, if Demosthenes justly branded them as traitors<sup>20</sup>; but a more impartial, and not less judicious writer<sup>21</sup>, asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their sagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their own wisdom and foresight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity which

<sup>20</sup> Παρα γὰρ τοῖς ἑλλήσιν, ὅ τισι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φεραν προδοτὰν καὶ δωροδοκῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνθρώπων, συνέβη γινώσκειν, ὅσην ὕβρις πᾶν προτιγόν μάλιστα γυγνόνται. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

<sup>21</sup> Polyb. iii. 72.

which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory of Philip.

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Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the king of Macedon marched through that country amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at the games and spectacles, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent Corinthians, who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animosity against Philip, did not conceal their sentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the king of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interposition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was strongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digest an affront<sup>22</sup>, when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with severity, what must I expect from men, who repay even kindness with insult<sup>23</sup>?"

Philip

<sup>22</sup> Longinus has preserved the expression of Theopompus, "that Philip could easily swallow affronts."

<sup>23</sup> Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and seizes the Halonnesus. Olymp. cix. 1.

A. C. 344

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inspecting with particular care the education of his son Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant soil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early culture <sup>24</sup>. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-in-law Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of his vassals, by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopœa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the same time he exercised his fleet by wresting Halonnesus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of the Athenians, the ancient and lawful proprietors of the island <sup>25</sup>.

Settles the commotions in Thrace, and protects the Cardians. Olymp. cix. 2.

A. C. 343

Next year Philip was summoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus, king of the Odrysians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were successively subdued; and the dexterity of the king of Macedon seconding his usual good fortune, he soon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vassals or courtiers <sup>26</sup>. At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he took under his protection the city and republic of Cardia,

<sup>24</sup> Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>25</sup> Demosth. Orat. de Halon.

<sup>26</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.



Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always set at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersonesites by a new colony, which had continual disputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crisis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength and numbers of the enemy, when they were seasonably protected by the Macedonian arms <sup>27</sup>.

The seizing of Halonnesus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open assistance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more roused the Athenians from their lethargy. These fresh insults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animosity, and the manifold injuries which they had suffered since the conclusion of the peace with Macedon. But instead of opposing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be resisted with any hope of success, they employed the impotent defence of speeches, resolutions, and embassies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there seemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repressing his insolent usurpation <sup>28</sup>.

Philip,

<sup>27</sup> Demosthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. & Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

<sup>28</sup> Demosthen. de Chersoneso, p. 35, & seqq.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

Philip dis-  
patches  
Python of  
Byzan-  
tium with  
a letter to  
that peo-  
ple.

Its con-  
tents.

Philip, who then agitated schemes from which he wished not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, sent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonstrances of that people; and dispatched to Athens itself, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that passionate vehemence of language which seems to arise from conviction and sincerity, a mercenary spirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago sold himself, and, as far as depended on himself, the interest of his country, to the king of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the senate and people of Athens, written with that specious moderation and artful plausibility, which Philip knew so well to assume in all his transactions. "He offered to make a present to the Athenians of the island of Halonnesus, and invited them to join with him in purging the sea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long subsisted between the two nations, and to concert amicably together such commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they so loudly complained. That for himself, he was ready not only to terminate all disputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to distrust those designing and turbulent demagogues, whose selfish ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war<sup>29</sup>."

The

<sup>29</sup> Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33, & seq.

The subtle artifices of Philip, though supported C H A P.  
on this occasion by the impetuous eloquence of XXXVI.  
Python, were overcome by Hegesippus and De- Diopei-  
mosthenes, who refuted the various articles of the thes, the  
letter with great strength and perspicuity, and Athenian  
unveiled the injustice of Philip with such force of general in  
evidence, that the Athenians resolved sending a Thrace,  
considerable armament to the Chersonesus, to acts rigo-  
protect their subjects in that peninsula <sup>30</sup>. Dio- rously a-  
peithes, who commanded the expedition, was a gainst Phi-  
lip.  
determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a  
man of courage and enterprise. Before he arriv-  
ed in the Chersonesus, Philip, trusting to the ef-  
fect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into  
Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himself of this  
opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided  
for the defence of the Athenian settlements in  
Thrace, he made an incursion into the neighbour-  
ing country; stormed the Macedonian settlements  
at Crobylé and Tiristasis; and having carried off  
many prisoners, and a considerable booty, lodged  
them in the safe retreat of the Chersonesus. On  
this emergency Amphilochus, a Macedonian of  
rank, was sent as Ambassador, to treat of the  
ransom of prisoners; but Diopeithes, regardless  
of this character, ever held sacred in Greece, cast  
him in prison, the more surely to widen the  
breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if  
possible, to render it irreparable. With equal seve-  
rity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in  
his late excursion, charged with letters from  
Philip; which were sent to Athens, and read in  
full assembly <sup>31</sup>.

The

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Epistol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.*



CHAP.  
XXXVI.

The partisans of Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

The King of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and insults, gave free scope to his complaints and threats; and his emissaries had an easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens, if not, he would be his own avenger; the personal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and punished for his misconduct<sup>32</sup>.

He is powerfully defended by Demosthenes.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardour of patriotism, render his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus one of the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizens. Diopeithes, if really criminal, might be recalled, and punished whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, before the expedition

<sup>32</sup> Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

expedition of Diopeithes, had oppressed the Cher-  
 sonesites, had stormed Serrium and Doriscus, CHAP. XXXVI.  
 how was Philip to be restrained, unless they re-  
 pelled force by force? Instead of recalling their  
 troops from the Chersonesus on the remonstrance  
 of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge  
 himself at war with them, till he assaulted the  
 walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost  
 ability in augmenting the army in that quarter.  
 Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would  
 wait the approach of winter, or the setting in of  
 the Etesian winds, to fall on the Chersonesus.  
 Will it then be sufficient to accuse Diopeithes?  
 Or will this save our allies? "O, but we will fail  
 to their relief." But if the winds will not permit  
 you? Even should our enemy attack, not the  
 Chersonesus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately  
 did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him  
 in Thrace, than to carry the war to the frontiers  
 of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diop-  
 eithes from the Asiatic Greeks are justified by the  
 example of all his predecessors, who, according  
 to the strength of their respective armaments,  
 have always levied proportional contributions  
 from the colonies; and the people who grant this  
 money, whether more or less, do not give it for  
 nothing. It is the price for which they are fur-  
 nished with convoys to protect their trading vessels  
 from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes had not  
 that resource, how could he subsist his troops, he  
 who receives nothing from you, and who has no-  
 thing of his own. From the skies? No; but  
 from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow.  
 Who does not perceive that this pretended concern  
 for the colonies, in men who have no concern for  
 their country, is one of the many artifices em-  
 ployed to confine and fix you to the city, while  
 the

CHAP. the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war  
XXXVI. at pleasure? That such traitors should exist, is  
less surprising than that you should patiently receive from them such counsels, as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the king of Macedon, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your soldiers, revile and insult your general. When a man, hired to betray you, rises up in the assembly, and declares Chares or Diopceithes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with satisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a sincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and disgrace." The disagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the insidious discipline of certain ministers has so changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your distress charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet, Athenians, if the states of Greece should thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually sending embassies to assure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained six months abroad by sickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants



tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, CHAP.  
 and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have XXXVI.  
 remained insensible to your wrongs, and fully  
 convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it  
 would not inspire you with the least degree of  
 vigour. Why then these embassies, these accu-  
 sations, all this unnecessary ferment! If the Greeks  
 should ask this, what could we answer? I know  
 not.

“ There are men who think to perplex a well-  
 intentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to  
 do? My answer is sincere, None of those things  
 which you do at present. I explain my opinion  
 at greater length, and may you be as ready to  
 to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must  
 hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has  
 broken the peace, and is at war with your repub-  
 lic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the  
 ground on which it stands, to all those who inha-  
 bit it, and not least to such as are most distin-  
 guished by his favours. The fate of Euthycrates  
 and Lasthenes <sup>33</sup>, citizens of Olynthus, may teach  
*our* traitors the destruction that awaits them, after  
 they have surrendered their country. But though  
 an enemy to your city, your soil, and your peo-  
 ple, Philip is chiefly hostile to your government,  
 which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to main-  
 tain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted  
 to defend both yourselves and them, to repel  
 usurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your  
 democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting  
 foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply  
 persuaded; and next, that wherever you repress  
 his encroachments, you act for the safety of  
 Athens, against which, chiefly, all his batteries

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are

<sup>33</sup> See above, c. xxxv.

CHAP. are erected. For who can be so foolish as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabila, and Mastira), should form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he should submit to toils and dangers; that, for the sake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he should consent to spend so many months amidst winter snows and tempests; while, at the same time, he disregarded the riches and splendour of Athens, your harbours, arsenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians. It is to get possession of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elsewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourselves from our indolence, not only support, but augment the troops which are on foot, that, as Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to succour and to save them <sup>34</sup>."

Demosthenes ventures not to propose the war in form.

It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been recorded among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for

<sup>34</sup> Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. p. 35, & seqq.

for misleading the people<sup>35</sup>, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: "Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians, nor wish ever to become; yet possess more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a sure pledge of impunity in the flattery and artifices by which they have long seduced the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present pleasure. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels tend to render, not myself, but my country great."

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The arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopceithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of<sup>36</sup> vigour which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Calias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a descent on the coast of Thes-

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

U 2

gic

<sup>35</sup> By the *γενεή παρονομεύων*. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

<sup>36</sup> Vid. Epist. Philip.



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XXXVI.

gic gulph. A considerable body of forces was sent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, assisted by his kinsman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peperathus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite with their Grecian brethren against the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these commotions, but his designs against the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus<sup>37</sup> being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any secondary consideration to divert him from that important enterprise.

Philip attempts to get possession of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3. A. C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a considerable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whose vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thousand men hovered round; but the design was suspected or discovered, and Philip, to screen his partisans from public vengeance, seasonably withdrew his army, and invested the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of these transactions not only increased the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus king of Persia, who being no stranger to Philip's design of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To prevent this danger Ochus adopted

<sup>37</sup> Demosth. de Coron. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

adopted the same policy, which, in similar circumstances, had been successfully employed by his predecessors<sup>38</sup>. The Persian gold was profusely scattered among the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof against an unworthy alliance<sup>39</sup> with interest, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he considered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever against the king of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himself with equal zeal in that island.

The factious spirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The cities of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria prepared to rebel, having previously solicited assistance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favourable to their views. From other states they brought back promises and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly by the influence of Demosthenes, a considerable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular assemblies in most of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with such animosity against Philip and his partisans, that little remained to be done by the valour

<sup>38</sup> Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. in Demosth.

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The merit of Demosthenes acknowledged on this occasion.

valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one post to another, till they were compelled entirely to evacuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens and strangers <sup>40</sup>.

Circumstances which enabled the Perinthians to make an obstinate defence. Olymp. cix. 4. A.C. 341.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perseverance. The town was situated on the sloping ridge of an isthmus, and strongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and streets rising one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, so that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having scoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the besieged; his miners were busy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a considerable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsmen had not been idle. The superior discharge of

<sup>40</sup> Demosth. de Coron. & Plut. in Demosth.



of darts, arrows, and every kind of missile weapon from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians from those parts of the wall and battlements, against which the principal attack had been directed. But with incessant toil, the besieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches<sup>41</sup>. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind fertile in expedients, to restore their hopes, and to animate their activity. The siege recommenced with fresh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly saved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and lastly by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, presenting its apex or narrow point to the besiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and to overwhelm them with missile weapons as they advanced to the charge. Philip, ever sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an assault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall: he therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade. Perinthus was shut up as closely as possible by sea and land;

<sup>41</sup> Diodor. p. 466, & seqq.

CHAP. land: part of the Macedonian troops who had  
 XXXVI. become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at  
 this time owed above two hundred talents, or  
 forty thousand pounds sterling), were indulged in  
 plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while  
 the remainder were conducted to the siege of  
 Selebria, and soon after of Byzantium itself, the  
 taking of which places, it was hoped, might com-  
 pensate their lost labour at Perinthus <sup>42</sup>.

The Thra-  
 cian cities,  
 supported  
 by nume-  
 rous allies,  
 resist the  
 arms of  
 Philip.

During the military operations against the ci-  
 ties of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease  
 exhorting his countrymen to undertake their de-  
 fence, as essential to their own safety. The hos-  
 tilities and devastations of Philip, he represented  
 as the periodical returns of the pestilence and  
 other contagious disorders, in which all men were  
 alike threatened with their respective shares of  
 calamity. He, who was actually sound and un-  
 tainted, had an equal interest with the diseased  
 and infirm, to root out the common evil which,  
 if allowed to lurk in any part, would speedily  
 pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedo-  
 nians now besieged Selebria and Byzantium;  
 if successful in these enterprises, they would  
 soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens.  
 Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks  
 looked on the successive encroachments of Philip,  
 not as events which their vigorous and united  
 opposition might ward off and repel, but as dis-  
 asters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a  
 tempestuous cloud of hail, so destructive to the  
 vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror,  
 hovering over them, but none took any other  
 means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods  
 that

<sup>42</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

that it might not fall on his own fields <sup>43</sup>. These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities <sup>44</sup>. Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with the republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the people, but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, who, after a slight skirmish, were repelled with the loss of

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Philip attacks and defeats Diopeithes, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians.

<sup>43</sup> Ἀλλὰ ὅπως ταυτ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληες ἀνεχονται· καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον, ὅπῃ οἱ τὴν χαλαζαν, μάλιστα δοκεῖσι θεωρεῖν· εὐχομένους μὴ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαστοὶ γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ ὕδης ἐπιχειρῶν. Demost. in Philipp. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the *Païs de Vaud*) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with snow, sunny hills, and fertile vallies.—Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail storms so alarming and so destructive.

<sup>44</sup> Demosthen. de Corqna.



CHAP. of their leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied  
 XXXVI. his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed  
 not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to  
 which, he assured the Athenians, that he had  
 been compelled, much against his inclination :  
 he affected to consider Diopeithes as the instru-  
 ment of a malignant faction, headed by De-  
 mosthenes, rather than as the general of the  
 republic ; and as that commander had acted un-  
 warrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people  
 strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured him-  
 self that the senate and people would not take it  
 amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had  
 at length repelled violence, and defended the  
 lives and fortunes of his long-injured confede-  
 rates.

Philip's  
 admiral  
 seizes an  
 Athenian  
 convoy  
 destined  
 for the re-  
 lief of Se-  
 lymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this  
 footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty  
 vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Se-  
 lymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this  
 convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty  
 formerly subsisting between the two powers, would  
 protect him from injury. But in this he was dis-  
 appointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken  
 by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of  
 Macedon, and who determined to retain his  
 prize, without paying any regard to the com-  
 plaints and remonstrances of Leodamas, who  
 pretended that the convoy was not destined for  
 Selymbria, but employed in conveying the su-  
 perabundance of the fertile Chersonesus to the  
 rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

Philip re-  
 stores the  
 captured  
 vessels,  
 and writes

The news of the capture of their ships occasi-  
 oned much tumult and uneasiness among the  
 Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this  
 subject,

subject, a decree was framed for sending ambassadors to Philip, in order to re-demand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his instructions, should be punished with due severity. Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commission, repaired without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at their request, immediately released the captured vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to persuade me that these ships were intended to convey corn from the Chersonesus to the isle of Lemnos, and not destined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually besieged by me, and nowise included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjust commission Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others now in private stations, who are too busy in urging you to violate your engagements, and to commence hostilities against me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantage from such a rupture. Deeply persuaded that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders to release the captured vessels; and do you, in return, remove such pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs; and let them feel the severity of your justice. On my part, I shall endeavour

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an artful  
letter to  
the Athe-  
nians.

Olymp.

cix. 4.

A. C. 341.

**C H A P.** deavour to preserve inviolate the treaty, by which  
**XXXVI.** we stand mutually engaged <sup>45</sup>."

Demosthenes persuades the Athenians to succour the besieged cities in Thrace.

The moderate and friendly sentiments expressed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partisans at Athens. But Demosthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations against the cities of the Propontis, in order to stifle the resentment of the Athenians, at a crisis when they might act against him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations <sup>46</sup>, in which, without urging any new matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and enlivened his former observations and reasonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his designs against themselves by a speedy and effectual assistance to their distressed brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendor, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

Dis honourable expedition of Chares. Olymp. cx. i. A. C. 340.

It was decreed by the senate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whose character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from  
 their

<sup>45</sup> Epist. Philip. in Demosth.

<sup>46</sup> Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat. de Epist. Philip.



their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, C H A P.  
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the Macedonian admiral, off the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This disaster, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion <sup>47</sup>, who, though ever ready to serve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, Philip  
fails in his  
attempt to  
surprise  
Byzanti-  
um.  
flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to storm Byzantium. That city was environed on three sides by the sea, and defended on the fourth by a strong wall, and a large and deep trench, covered by lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place, and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without risking a sally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and seemed determined to assault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper measures for gaining the place by surprise. For executing this design, he chose the gloom of a tempestuous night; a determined band of Macedonians passed the ditch; the scaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs, kept in the towers even in time of peace, to secure them in the night. The alarm spread with rapidity among the several guards, who rushing tumultuously from their respective stations, as if the enemy had been already masters of the town, were on the point of blindly assaulting each other, when a bright meteor,

<sup>47</sup> Plutarch in Phocion.

CHAP. XXXVI. **teor**, or repeated flashes of lightning, enabled them to distinguish their friends, and to discern the danger. Having formed in some degree of order, they advanced against the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulsed by superior numbers <sup>48</sup>.

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion, saved the Thracian cities; Olymp. cx. i. A. C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterprise did not discourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perseverance must finally have prevailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received him with open arms, expecting that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant <sup>49</sup>. The king of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it necessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating resolutions, but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of

<sup>48</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

<sup>49</sup> Plut. in Phocion.

of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

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Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many important cities was principally owing, sailed from Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Chersonesus, he captured a fleet of victuallers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninsula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He recovered several places on the coast of Thrace, which had reluctantly submitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, took such measures as seemed most proper to protect the Athenian allies in those parts, from future danger. Instead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the wants of his soldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in person the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of those expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had spread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip<sup>50</sup>.

and ravage the Macedonian territories.

The meritorious services of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved<sup>51</sup>. The deliverance and gratitude of the Chersonesus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by crowns, statues,

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cities which they had relieved.

<sup>50</sup> Plut. in Phocion; & Diodor. ubi supra.

<sup>51</sup> Idem. ibid.



CHAP. statues, inscriptions, and altars; and are still re-  
 XXXVI. corded in an oration Demosthenes<sup>52</sup>, which has  
 deservedly survived those solid and authentic monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing the ancient and recent benefits of Athens towards them, enacted, that, in return for those favours, the Athenians should be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in their territories, the freedom of their respective cities, and the first and most honourable place in all their entertainments and assemblies: That whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should be exempted from all taxes: And that, further, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, should be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown should be proclaimed by the four principal festivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Chersonesus were not less forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a similar preamble, setting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they resolved to crown the senate and people of Athens with a golden crown worth sixty talents; and to consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. These public and solemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had advised the measures, in consequence of which such just glory had been acquired. At the distance of several years,

<sup>52</sup> Demosthen. de Corona.

years, the orator still boasted of this important service. “ You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns, the statesmen most successful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured <sup>53.</sup>”

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The circumstance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rise from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling passion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœsia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninsula contained between the western waves of the Euxine, and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the six mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Boristhenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times had the name of Little Scythia <sup>54</sup>, and are still called Little Tartary. A monarch less warlike, and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the

Atheas  
king of  
Scythia  
invites  
Philip to  
assist him  
against the  
Itrians.

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X

Danube;

<sup>53</sup> Demosth. de Coron.

<sup>54</sup> Herodotus, & Strabo, passim.

CHAP. Danube; which great river, as he was already  
 XXXVI. master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of  
 Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already grasped as the frontier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of sound policy, that amidst his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas<sup>55</sup>, who styled himself king of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas was totally unable to resist. To this proposal was added a condition extremely alluring to the king of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

Perfidy  
 and info-  
 lence of  
 that Bar-  
 barian.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard against the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, sent a great body of  
 forces

<sup>55</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. ii.



forces to the north, and promised to assist them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose conduct rendered successful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by sudden death: the dispirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, without the assistance of Macedon, Atheas once more regained possession of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution served to display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and subsistence. Their just remonstrances and complaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally disavowed the propositions and promises of those who styled themselves his ambassadors; observing "how unlikely it was, that he should have solicited the assistance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Scythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been still more unnatural to appoint Philip his successor, since he had a son of his own, worthy to inherit his crown and dignity <sup>56</sup>."

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Upon receiving an account of the insolent behaviour of a prince who had so recently solicited his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuccessfully, employed against the cities of the Propontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to satisfy the just demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the

Philip re-  
mon-  
strates  
with him  
in vain.

X 2

the

<sup>56</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

CHAP. the expence incurred in his defence. The am-  
 XXXVI. bassadors found the king of Scythia in his stable,  
 currying his horse. When they testified surprise  
 at seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he  
 asked them, Whether their master did not often  
 employ himself in the same manner? adding,  
 that for his own part, in time of peace, he made  
 not any distinction between himself and his  
 groom. When they opened their commission,  
 and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle  
 Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia  
 could not furnish a present becoming the greatness  
 of their master; and that, therefore, it seemed  
 more eligible to offer nothing at all, than a pre-  
 sent totally unworthy of his acceptance <sup>57</sup>.

Philip de-  
 termines  
 to chastise  
 his ingra-  
 titude and  
 perfidy.

This evasive and mortifying answer, being  
 brought to the king of Macedon when foiled and  
 harassed, yet not disheartened, by his unprosper-  
 ous expedition against Byzantium, furnished him  
 with a very honourable pretence for raising the  
 siege of that place, and conducting a powerful  
 army into Scythia, that he might chastise the  
 treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after  
 having over-reached him by policy, now mocked  
 him with insolence. Having advanced to the  
 frontier of Athea's dominions, Philip had re-  
 course to his usual arts, and sent a herald with  
 the ensigns of peace and friendship, to announce  
 his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a  
 solemn vow which he had made during the siege  
 of Byzantium, of erecting a brazen statue to  
 Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The  
 cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice,  
 which he knew how to encounter and elude with  
 similar

<sup>57</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

similar address. Without praising or blaming the pious intention of the king, he coolly desired him to forward the statue, which he himself would take care to erect in the appointed place; that should it be set up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to stand; otherwise, he could give no assurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons<sup>58</sup>.

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The return of the Macedonian herald was the signal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and sword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and seizing the slaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He seems to have employed several weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they essential to the design of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a pastoral state are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, separate from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and fixed their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian soldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loss of several slain or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reside at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This distinguished captive was sent as a present to Atheas, who was so little delighted with

Success of  
his Scy-  
thian ex-  
pedition.

<sup>58</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. ii.



CHAP. with his accomplishments, that having heard him  
 XXXVI. perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his  
 horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music.  
 The skirmish in which Ismenias was taken, seems  
 to have been the principal advantage obtained  
 by the Barbarians, whose constitutional courage,  
 and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where  
 overcome by the disciplined valour of the Macedo-  
 nian phalanx 59.

The na-  
 ture and  
 quantity  
 of the  
 booty.

Philip reaped such fruits from his expedition, as might be expected by a victory over a people who had no king but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The spoil consisted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares, destined to replenish the studs of Pella 60. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promised statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their submission and dependence, purposing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great designs in Greece, to which country the silent operation of his intrigues now summoned his return.

Philip, on  
 his return, an  
 surprised  
 by the  
 Triballi.

But while he marched southward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blast his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly

<sup>59</sup> Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Compar. Justin, l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.

roughly subdued, beset by ambush, and vigorously assaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœsia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the flower of a nation whose authority their own fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly condescended to obey. The confusion and the danger was increased by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, harassed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, seized the present opportunity to desert the standard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi <sup>61</sup>.

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The king of Macedon, too prudent to undertake superfluous danger, never acquired by valour, what might be obtained by stratagem; but when a necessary occasion solicited his courage and his prowess, he knew how to assume the hero, and (if we may transpose an ancient proverb), "to eke out the fox's with the lion's skin <sup>62</sup>." The urgency of the present emergence summoned all the firmness of his mind. With his voice and example he encouraged the astonished and disheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the same weapon which pierced his horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from saving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his sword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of safety <sup>63</sup>; the son so worthily succeeding

Alexander  
saves the  
life of his  
father,

<sup>61</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. iii. Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>62</sup> Vid. Plut. in Lyfand.

<sup>63</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Justin. l. ix. c. iii.

CHAP. XXXVI. succeeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeased, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous son endeavoured to remove his anxiety by asking, how he could be chagrined at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour <sup>64</sup>?

and de-  
feats the  
Triballi.

Philip appointed general of the Amphictyons. Olymp. cx. 2. A. C. 339. To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, the Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

The situation of Philip's affairs encourages the Athenians to exert themselves with vigour. Olymp. cx. 2. A. C. 339.

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the successful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus king of Persia, who thought it impossible to employ his wealth more usefully than bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long sunk, and animated them with a desire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece. In order to save the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent struggle) to abolish the very popular law, or rather

<sup>64</sup> Plut. in Alexand.



ther abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amusements, so passionately idolised by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval strength of Macedon <sup>65</sup>. The troops and partisans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides an orator second only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, to persuade the several republics to second the generous ardour of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of those illustrious statesmen <sup>66</sup>.

Philip was accurately informed of all those transactions; and the alarm universally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate, than to conceal, the danger. Highly provoked against the Athenians, the continual opposers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Thessalians, who, ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to forsake him with his good fortune. His disgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavourable to such a hazardous design. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success, to attack the enemy by sea, since the Athenian fleet so far exceeded his

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Difficulties with which Philip had to struggle.

<sup>65</sup> Demosthen. de Corona.

<sup>66</sup> Idem, ibid.

CHAP. his own, that it had interrupted, and almost to-  
 XXXVI. tally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

His in-  
 triges  
 with the  
 incendia-  
 ry Anti-  
 phon.

Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip shewed how well he understood the unsteady temper of the Greeks, by raising the siege of Byzantium, and burying himself in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animosity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two secret engines, which were at work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular assembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that supine negligence with which Demosthenes so frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athenians regarded an unqualified voter in the assembly as an usurper of sovereign power) was discovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his insolence and calumny had justly rendered him obnoxious; in consequence of which impeachment, the suppositious Athenian was divested of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whose most august rights and honours he had usurped and disgraced. Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourse to the king of Macedon, and offered himself for any enterprise, however bloody or desperate, by which, in serving the interest of Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for vengeance. The ambi-  
 tious

tious Macedonian kept his ends too steadily in view, and pursued them with too much ardour and perseverance, to be very delicate in choosing the means by which he might distress his adversaries. He greedily closed, therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an instrument so fit for his service.

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The superiority of the Athenians by sea, which shewed them determined to maintain and increase, formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the design was suggested, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens in disguise, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the main hope of the republic. While the artful king of Macedon eluded the storm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a serpent, in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour, which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

Who attempts to set fire to the Athenian docks.

But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered this desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, divested him of his disguise, and produced him at the bar of the assembly. The capricious and deluded multitude,

The design detected by Demosthenes.



CHAP. multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion,  
 XXXVI. were on this occasion very differently affected from  
 what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of such black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long absence, and accused, perhaps on vain presumptions, of such a horrid crime. They knew, besides, the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to encrease their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms, and imaginary dangers. *Æschines*, and other partisans of *Philip*, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of *Demosthenes* as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his insolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the house where *Antiphon* was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his sanctuary<sup>67</sup>. Such was the effect of these clamours, that *Antiphon* was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have resumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the senate of the *Areopagus* more carefully examined the information of *Demosthenes*. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again seized, and tried. Torture, which the institution of domestic slavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and

<sup>67</sup> *Lyfias* passim. in *Agorat.* & *Eratoftth.*

and his enormous guilt was punished with as enormous severity <sup>68</sup>.

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Had the detestable enterprize of Antiphon been crowned with unmerited success, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude stroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he set in motion for gaining the same end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened resentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the disgrace sustained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be easily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the several parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occasion that Demosthenes might justly exclaim, "In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip distinguished above all his ambitious predecessors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is most worthy of remark, nourished the principal instruments of his ambition in the bosom of that state, whose public councils most openly opposed his greatness <sup>69</sup>."

Philip's  
intrigues  
for embroiling  
the affairs  
of Greece.

The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their just resentment against Philip, His partisans sent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons.

<sup>68</sup> Demosthenes de Coron, who gives an honourable account of his own conduct described in the text.

<sup>69</sup> Idem, *ibid*.

CHAP. Philip, that they should send such deputies to the  
 XXXVI. city of Apollo, as were most hostile to the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause of liberty, and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were persuaded, at a crisis which demanded the most faithful and incorrupt ministers, to employ, as their representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æschines and Midias; the former of whom had so often reproached, and the latter had, on one occasion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre<sup>70</sup>; and who were both not only the declared enemies of this illustrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thrascles, the warm and active partisans of the king of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus<sup>71</sup> pretended sickness, that they might allow Æschines to display, uncontrouled, his superior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepest dissimulation, might be performed most successfully by a single traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the sacred offerings, which had been removed and sold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new presents were made by several states, to supply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who pre- The Athenians particularly signalised their  
 sent a de- pious munificence, and sent, among other dedi-  
 cation cations,  
 to the

temple  
 highly of-  
 fensive to  
 the The-  
 bans.

<sup>70</sup> Demosth. in Mid. & Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

<sup>71</sup> Æschines says, Διογνητον πυρεττον; "That Diognetus was seized with a fever, and that the same misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.



cations, several golden shields, with the following inscription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against Greece." CHAP. XXXVI.

This offering, highly offensive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely suspended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons listened to their complaints, and it was whispered in the council, that the Athenians deserved punishment for presenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly consecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at these murmurs, Æschines<sup>72</sup> rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa<sup>73</sup>, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility<sup>74</sup>.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Athenians reproached by the deputy of the Amphissa.

<sup>72</sup> Αρχόμενος δὲ μὲν λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερον πᾶσι συλλήλυτος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. Æschin. p. 290.

<sup>73</sup> Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address: ἀναδύσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσιῶν, ἀνθρώπος ἀσέληγτος, καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εἶπαιτο ὑδρίας παιδίας μετισχηκῶς, ἰσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίως ἐμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοὺς προαγομένῃ. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended divinity."

<sup>74</sup> See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v.

CHAP. the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justifi-  
 XXXVI. cation, much less the praises of Athens, a city  
 ~~~~~ impious and profane, which, in defiance of  
 human and divine laws, had so recently abetted  
 the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if  
 the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted  
 the dictates of duty and honour, they would not  
 allow the detested name of the Athenians to be  
 mentioned in that august council <sup>75</sup>."

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of ex-  
 citing such tumults in the assembly as suited the  
 views of Philip <sup>76</sup>. In the ardour of patriotic  
 indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he  
 poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective  
 against the insolent Locrian, and his city Am-  
 phissa; not only justified the innocence, but  
 displayed, with ostentation, the illustrious merit  
 of the Athenians; and then addressing the Am-  
 phictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and ex-  
 pressive, "Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never  
 knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown,  
 be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards  
 of glory so justly <sup>77</sup> earned? Shall men, themselves  
 polluted

<sup>75</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

<sup>76</sup> Demosthen. de Corona.

<sup>77</sup> The persuasive energy with which Æschines defends his  
 treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion,  
 is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had  
 the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æs-  
 chines (de Falsa Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have  
 justly been regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence  
 produced by human genius. But the works, and even the  
 name of Æschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So  
 disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and second  
 part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for  
 fame:

Αἰὲν ἀριστοῦν καὶ ὑπεροχὸν ἔμεναι ἄλλων.

polluted by sacrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, presume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be seen from the temple), behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisseans; behold the numerous buildings which they have erected there, and that accursed port of Cirrha, justly demolished by our ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified." *Æschines* here read the oracle of *Apollo*, which condemned that harbour and those lands to perpetual desolation. Then proceeding with increased vehemence: "For myself, ye Grecians! I swear, that I myself, my children, my country, will discharge our duty to heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the consecrated territory. Do you, *Amphietyons*! determine as wisdom shall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer solemn prayers for blessings on yourselves, and on the republics which you represent. But consider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you suffer the profanation of the *Amphisseans* to pass unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only against those who cultivate the consecrated ground, but against those who neglect to punish them: "May they never present an acceptable offering to *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Latona*, or *Minerva* the provident; but may all their sacrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred!"

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Y

The

<sup>78</sup> *Pausanias Phocic. & Æschin. in Ctesiphont.*



CHAP.  
XXXVI.

which ex-  
cites the  
third sa-  
cred war.

The warmth of Æschines occasioned the utmost tumult in the assembly. The golden shields, irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer the subject of discourse. This slight impropriety disappeared amidst the enormous impieties of the Amphisseans, which had been so forcibly painted to the superstitious fancies of the terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between those who accused, and those who defended this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having summoned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi, should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations, which had so long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little opposition in performing this pious devastation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and assaulted by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who threw them into disorder, made several prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphi. The signal of war was now raised; the insulted Amphictyons, in whose persons the sanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their respective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphisseans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which possess only a delegated authority, the measures of the Amphictyons were extremely slow and irresolute; and when they at length raised an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Thessalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unsuccessful<sup>79</sup>.

Affairs were thus brought to the issue which had been expected by Æschines, and the accomplices  
who

<sup>79</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

who assisted him, in promoting the interest of the king of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council against the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned the national religion. "It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo and the guardians of his temple, to seek out and employ some more powerful instrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His assistance must again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and the sacred shrine." This proposal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome message with well-affected surprise, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he should be ever ready to obey<sup>80</sup>.

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The Amphictyons  
appoint  
Philip  
their ge-  
neral.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper measures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a sufficient number of transports to convey his army into Greece. He understood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Æschines and his associates, the Athenians had been persuaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his passage with a superior naval force. To baffle this opposition, Philip employed a stratagem. A light brigantine was dispatched to Macedon with letters of such import, as gave reason to believe that he purposed immediately returning into Thrace<sup>81</sup>. Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and

Philip  
eludes the  
Athenian  
fleet by a  
stratagem.

Y 2

minister,

<sup>80</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

<sup>81</sup> Polyæn. l. iv. c. ii.

CHAP. minister, he took care to mask his artifice, by  
 XXXVI. sending letters to his queen Olympias. The brigantine purposely fell into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were seized and read; but the letter of the queen was politely forwarded to its destination<sup>82</sup>. The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes possession of Amphissa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than seemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the king, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose designs they had lately become extremely jealous, sent a small body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long disgusted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public spirit to oppose, beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous disregard, and seemed firm in their purpose of preserving a sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle, against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her ministers, of being bribed to Philippise, or to prophesy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while

<sup>82</sup> Plut. in Demetr.



while Æschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphissa<sup>83</sup>. The king of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory<sup>84</sup>.

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The news of these events occasioned dreadful consternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be persuaded to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious invader. After less altercation and delay than usually prevailed in their councils, they sent an embassy to Philip, craving a suspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine negligence, and to animate and unite them against a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the subjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the Ambassadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The situation of the Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important<sup>85</sup>. To gain or to retain

The Athenians while they negotiate with Philip, raise a confederacy against that prince.

The Thebans fluctuate between the party of Philip and that of the Athenians.

<sup>83</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

<sup>84</sup> Demosthen. de Corona.

<sup>85</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.

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their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens had been employed with unwearied assiduity. The Thebans temporised, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolutions. The partisans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with that stupid indifference, and took their measures with that lethargic slowness, which disgraced even the heavy character of the Boeotians<sup>86</sup>.

Philip  
seizes E-  
latæa.  
Olymp.  
cx. 3.  
A.C. 338.

To fix their wavering irresolution, and to awaken their sensibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foresight and policy had spared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Boeotia. The citadel was built on an eminence, washed by the river Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through Boeotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by several navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post, conveniently situated for receiving reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage into Boeotia, distant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the safety of Thebes and Athens, Philip seized with equal boldness and celerity<sup>87</sup>, drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus secured himself from surprise, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him sufficient ground

<sup>86</sup> Demosthen. de Coron.

<sup>87</sup> Diodor. & Demosthen. ubi supra.

ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council<sup>88</sup>, by whose authority the king of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

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We are not acquainted with the immediate effect of this vigorous measure over the minds of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens, may be conjectured by what happened on this occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad. Some hastened to the generals; others went in quest of the officer<sup>89</sup> whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen and artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all assembled; the senators took their places; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he who had any thing to offer on the present emergence, should mount the rostrum and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country

Alarm  
thereby  
excited in  
Athens.

<sup>88</sup> Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

<sup>89</sup> Τοις σαλπικταῖς καλῶν, p. 317.



CHAP. country imploring the assistance of her chil-  
XXXVI. dren<sup>90</sup>.

Demost-  
henes ex-  
horts the  
Athenians  
to oppose  
Philip to  
the ut-  
most of  
their  
power by  
sea and  
land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; having proposed, amidst universal consternation, an advice equally prudent, generous, and successful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the desponding citizens, and assuring them that, were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the Thebans, hostile to Philip, that prince would not be actually posted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had surprised them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to shew the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have sold their country, are supported by the Macedonian forces at Elatæa, so you are ready to defend, with your hereditary courage and fortune, those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to assure the Thebans, that you do not consider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your

<sup>90</sup> Καλῶς δὲ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ γὰρ ὁ κινεῖ κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς φωνῆς ἀφῆκε, ταύτην κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος δικαίον εἶναι ἴσχυσθαι, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the present juncture. Assure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

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These proposals being received with general approbation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a decree which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people, who, agreeably to the magnanimous council of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing mortal perished, the fame of Athens should remain<sup>91</sup>. Having painted, in the most odious colours,

The decree for that purpose, dated August.

<sup>91</sup> See vol. i. c. xv. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate consequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. Βυλομαι τι και παραδεξοι οντων; και μη προς διος και θεων! μηδεις των υπερχολων θαυμαση, αλλα μετ' ευνοιας ο λογον θαυρησεται· η γαρ απασι προδιδαι τα μελλοντα γινεσθαι, και προηδοναι παντας, και συ προλεγει Αισχνη, και διαμαρτυρου, βουη και κεραιωας, ος υδι εφθελω· υδι υτως αποσταται τη πολει τατων η' υπηρ η δεξας η προγοιων η τα μελλοντες αιωνες ουχι λογον. The beauties of such passages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and sentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to say what is contrary to common opinion, and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreseen what was going to happen, had the consequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forsaken the cause of Grecian freedom, unless they forsook their glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers are prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: Αλλα ου εστι, οπως ημαρτιται, ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τον υπηρ της απαντων ελευθεριας και σωτηριας κινδυνον αρταμειν· η μα της εν Μαραθων ηρωικουδυνουσαντας των προγοιων, &c. See the passage, p. 343. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis,

colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having stigmatised with due severity the recent instances of his injustice and lust of power, the orator concludes, "For such reasons, the senate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the interest of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore, have resolved to send to the coast of Boeotia a fleet of two hundred sail, to march to Eleusis with their whole military strength, to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidst the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themselves manfully in defence of the common cause, with assurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to support them with all their faculties, their treasures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable contest; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to suffer a Barbarian to rest the sovereignty from their hands, would tarnish their hereditary glory, and disgrace their country for ever."

The same undaunted spirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in  
his

Salamis, and Artemisium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such passages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with such admirable symmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural size, so, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.



his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Bizantium, the emissaries employed by Philip on this important occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered assistance of Athens; and the Athenian army having soon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering distinctions of antient hospitality <sup>92</sup>.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencountres with the confederates. Regardless of these losses, to which, perhaps, he purposely submitted, as necessary stratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thousand strong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was considered by Philip as well adapted to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were chosen with equal sagacity; having in view, on one side, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal house, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a small river flowing into the Cephissus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the destined scene of desolation and woe to their unhappy country <sup>93</sup>. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much less careful to avail themselves

<sup>92</sup> Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, & seqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Justin. l. ix. c. iii. & Pausanias Bœotic.

<sup>93</sup> Plut. in Vit. Demosth.

CHAP. selves of the powerful sanctions of superstition.  
 XXXVI. Unrestrained by inauspicious sacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait no other omen but the cause of their country. Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the scanty reinforcements raised by the islands, and states of Peloponnesus, which had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest cause for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyficles and Chares, the first but little, and the second unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person strongly suspected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, slaves of interest or voluptuousness, whose characters (especially as they had been appointed to command the only states whose shame, rather than virtue, yet opposed the public enemy) are alone sufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

Alexander  
 routs the  
 Thebans.

When the day approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the rising of the sun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity and

and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy ; CHAP. XXXVI.  
 but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans<sup>94</sup> to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their disorder, and pursued the scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it ; for, having repelled the centre and left wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, instead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, pressed<sup>95</sup> forward against the fugitives, the insolent Lycicles exclaiming in vain triumph, " Pursue, my brave countrymen ! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip observed this rash folly with contempt, and saying to those around him, " our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of success had rendered them totally insensible to danger. But the irresistible shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thousand fell, two thousand were taken prisoners ; the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual

<sup>94</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand.

<sup>95</sup> Polyæn. Stratagem, l. iv. c. ii.



CH A P. unusual in that age, and not less honourable to  
 XXXVI. his understanding than his heart ; since his huma-  
 nity thus subdued the minds, and gained the af-  
 fections of his conquered enemies <sup>96</sup>.

Philip vi-  
 sits the  
 field of  
 battle.

According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, presiding in person, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. Their request, which served as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted ; but before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle ; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory ; yet the sight of the slaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the sacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity ; and, after an affecting silence denounced a solemn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions <sup>97</sup>.

His levity  
 reprimanded  
 by Demades.

But this serious temper of mind did not last long ; for having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the king abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness

<sup>96</sup> Pausan. Achaic. Diodor. & Justin, ubi supra.

<sup>97</sup> Plutarch in Pelopid.

littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boastful pretensions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and struck by this contrast, rehearsed, with the insolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism, and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Therites, when fortune assigned him the part of Agamemnon <sup>98</sup>.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand <sup>99</sup>, it is certain that the king of Macedon indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain triumph over the vanquished. When advised by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himself master of Athens, he only replied, "Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory <sup>100</sup>?" His subsequent conduct corresponded with the moderation of this sentiment. He restored, without ransom, the Athenian prisoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were also gratified in this particular; the king pleasantly observing, that the Athenians seemed to think he had not conquered <sup>101</sup> them in earnest. Soon afterwards he dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace on

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

<sup>98</sup> Idem in Demosthen.

<sup>99</sup> Plutarch ascribes to this smart observation the moderation of Philip's subsequent conduct.

<sup>100</sup> Plutarch in Apophth.

<sup>101</sup> Idem, ibid.

CHAP. on such favourable terms as they had little reason  
 XXXVI. to expect. They were required to send deputies  
 to the Isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their  
 respective contingents of troops for the Persian  
 expedition, Philip purposed assembling, early in  
 the spring, a general convention of all the Gre-  
 cian states; they were ordered to surrender the  
 isle of Samos, which actually formed the princi-  
 pal station of their fleet, and the main bulwark  
 and defence of all their maritime or insular posses-  
 sions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmo-  
 lested, the Attic territory, with their hereditary  
 form of government, and flattered by the acqui-  
 sition of Oropus, for which they had so long con-  
 tended with the unhappy Thebans<sup>102</sup>. It was  
 not only in being deprived of this city, that the  
 Thebans experienced the indignation of the con-  
 queror; from the transactions between Macedon  
 and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip  
 thought himself entitled to treat that people, not  
 as open and generous enemies, whose struggle for  
 freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless  
 and insidious rebels, who merited all the severity  
 of his justice. He punished the republican party  
 with unrelenting rigour; restored the traitors,  
 whom they had banished, to the first honours of  
 the republic; and, in order, to support their go-  
 vernment, placed a Macedonian garrison in the  
 Theban citadel<sup>103</sup>.

Causes  
 from  
 which it  
 proceed-  
 ed.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics,  
 Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by af-  
 fection nor hatred; his generosity and his rigour  
 were alike artificial, and both directed by his in-  
 terest. Besides the different characters of the  
 Thebans

<sup>102</sup> Pausanias Bæotic. Diodorus, ubi supra.

<sup>103</sup> Justin. l. ix. c. iv.



Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were susceptible of gratitude and esteem, the Thebans had too long, and too early, abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt to resist Philip, to which they had been at length animated, less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince, though with far less prudence and activity than their situation required; who, through the whole course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined, almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe, seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotism; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to Daring  
tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory, <sup>measures</sup>  
although the daring and imprudent behaviour of <sup>of the</sup>  
the Athenians, after the battle, might have served <sup>Atheni-</sup>  
to justify the harshest measures. The first news <sup>ans after</sup>  
of their defeat filled the city with tumult or con- <sup>their de-</sup>  
sternation. But when the disorder ceased, the  
Vol. III. Z people

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people shewed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides<sup>104</sup>, a decree passed for sending to the Piræus their wives, children, and most valuable effects, together with the sacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the same decree, the rights and freedom of the city were bestowed on strangers and slaves, and restored to persons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themselves in the public defence. Demosthenes, with equal success, proposed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himself appointed to superintend, he generously accomplished at the expence of his private fortune<sup>105</sup>. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of impeaching the worthless Lyficles, whose misconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cause of the late fatal disaster. In a discourse calculated to revive the spirit of military enthusiasm, which had animated the Athenians, the speaker thus warmly apostrophised the conscious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and shall *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the sun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your country?" The quick resentment of the hearers supplied the consequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution<sup>106</sup>.

Neither

<sup>104</sup> Plut. in Vita Hiperid.

<sup>105</sup> Demosth. de Corona.

<sup>106</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hostile preparations, of Athens, could shake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already proposed by his ambassadors. The patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but, at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this occasion acted suitably to the fame of its ancient wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion<sup>107</sup> was appointed to the chief command. The discernment of this statesman and general, whose merit had been neglected while it was yet time to perform any essential service, might easily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidst the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the dreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its melancholy issue, hung over their country, a set of Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original institution, daily assembled into a club, where all serious transactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and the time totally dedicated to feasting, gaming, and the sprightly exercises of wit and pleasantry. This detestable society saw<sup>108</sup>, without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the most careless indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree disturb their festivity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil course of their pleasures.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

Philip's  
moderation in victory.Extreme  
corruption of the  
Athenians.

Z 2

Their

<sup>107</sup> Plutarch in Phocion. <sup>108</sup> Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.



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Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip sent them a sum of money, to support the expence of an institution so favourable to his views. But what opinion must Phocion have formed of such an establishment ; or how was it possible for any dispassionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic so totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy ?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wisest portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip, were strengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimously blazed forth the praises of their generous conqueror. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to the king of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condescended to offer ; and the only marks of deference shewn to the violent party, who still clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who ostentatiously affected a rude boldness of speech against Philip, was named among the ambassadors ; and that Demosthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those slain at Chæronæa.

Insolence of Demochares.

Demochares acquitted himself of his commission with that ridiculous petulance which naturally flowed from his character ; and which, in the Grecian commonwealths, too frequently disgraced the decency of public transactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, lavished on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them,

them, if there was any thing farther in which he could gratify the Athenians? "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present, broke forth against this unprovoked insolence, when Philip, with admirable coolness, silenced the clamour, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested; and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such outrages are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them<sup>109</sup>."

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The honourable employment conferred on Demosthenes, which shewed that, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of his counsels, the Athenians still approved his principles and his patriotism, might have been expected to elevate his sentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the genius of the orator seems to have fallen with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous parts of the Athenian story. One transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world<sup>110</sup>; a figure

<sup>109</sup> Seneca de Ira.

<sup>110</sup> Ὡς περ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ καθιγνητοῦ κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαιτο· δυσχερὲς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λοιποῖμος ἡμῖν βίος· ὅτε τῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀναριθμίων, ἢ σκοτὴ καὶ πολλὴ δυσχέαια πᾶς ὁ πρῶτος ζῆλος τῶν ἀλλήλων γένοι. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery; so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy."

CHAP. figure bold, yet just; since, after the battle of  
XXXVI. Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of  
resisting the conqueror—the dignity of freedom  
was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and  
tyranny descended and thickened over Greece <sup>111</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis,  
et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. iii. De-  
mosthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the  
same sentiments, and nearly in the same words.

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## C H A P. XXXVII.

*Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government.—Philip appointed General of the Greeks.—Rebellion of Illyria.—Assassination of Philip.—His Character.—Accession of Alexander.—His Expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi.—He passes the Danube.—Rebellion in Greece.—Destruction of Thebes.—Heroism of Timoclea.—Alexander crosses the Hellespont.—State of the Persian Empire.—Battle of the Granicus.—Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus.—Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers.—Alexander's judicious Plan of War.—Arts by which he secured his Conquests.—The Battle of Issus.—The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity.*

**T**HE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and sorrow, that by the decisive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became master of their country<sup>\*</sup>. But we should form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the

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Liberal  
spirit of  
the Ma-  
cedonian  
govern-  
ment.

<sup>\*</sup> Demosth. Æschin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, passim. I shall cite only the words of Strabo: Χαίρωνια δὲ ὅπου Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου μεγάλῃς μάχῃς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους, κατέργη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κυρίως. "And Chæronæa, where Philip, the son of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle, rendered himself master of Greece." Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

CHAP. the policies of the heroic ages<sup>2</sup>. He administered  
 XXXVII. the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of soldiers and freemen<sup>3</sup>. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects<sup>4</sup>, ceased from that moment to be a king.

Nature  
 and extent of  
 Philip's  
 authority  
 in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country severer maxims of government than those which prevailed in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preserve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controuled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendence of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic

<sup>2</sup> When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, *Οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργεὺς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βίᾳ ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδονίων ἀρχόντες διατελεσαν.* "Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "*Nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;*" scilicet populi. Curtius, l. vi. c. ix. p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> A very mean subject literally told Philip, "If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." Plut. Apophth.

Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people<sup>5</sup>.

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That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic states<sup>6</sup>. In this assembly Dîus of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations and oppression which the feeble colonies of Asia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly approved his complaint, while they recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, insulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not satisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppressed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nourished those cruel animosities which had long filled every part of Greece with sedition and blood<sup>7</sup>. Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred

Philip  
named  
general  
of the  
Greeks.  
Olymp.  
cx. 4.  
A.C. 337.

<sup>5</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. Τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰλαμένον αὐτοῦ στρατηγόν, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

<sup>7</sup> Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.



**CHAP.** and jealousy had, on several occasions, thwarted  
**XXXVII.** his measures, and disturbed his government. Yet  
 he insisted chiefly on their public injuries, and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a successful expedition into Asia.

Amount  
 of their  
 forces.

This expedition was determined with universal consent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians suddenly absented themselves from the convention) when the several states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse<sup>a</sup>; a prodigious force, of which the domestic dissensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them from forming an adequate notion. On no former occasion had the several republics appeared so thoroughly united in one common cause; never had they shewn themselves so sensible of their combined strength; never had they testified such general alacrity to take the field, or such unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domestic dissensions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

It belongs to the biographers of the king of Macedon, to examine the circumstances of the bloody transaction which clouded this glorious prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is sufficient to mention, that Philip, having dispatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Asiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander, by an insurrection of the Illyrian tribes<sup>b</sup>. This unseasonable diversion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was rendered

<sup>a</sup> Justin. l. ix c. v.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. ad Olymp.

dered more formidable by the domestic discord which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by the continual infidelities of her husband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceased to augment the number of his wives or concubines<sup>10</sup>. The generous mind of Alexander must naturally have espoused the cause of his mother, although his own interest had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him so many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias and his own, with the impetuosity natural to his character; at the nuptials of Philip with Cassandra, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty son<sup>11</sup>; and the latter, concluding all those to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, sought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms against their sovereign.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from these difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he softened Alexander by assuring him, that his illustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had not only given him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory and in the merited affection of the Macedonians<sup>12</sup>. Soothed by this condescension, Olympias and her son again appeared at court with the distinction

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Philip extricates himself from these difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1. A.C. 336.

<sup>10</sup> Athenæus, l. xiii.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. Apophth.

CHAP. tion due to their rank ; and to announce and con-  
 XXXVII. firm this happy reconciliation with his family,  
 Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to  
 the king of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander,  
 and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent fes-  
 tival which lasted several days, during which the  
 Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other  
 in shewing their obsequious respect towards their  
 common general and master.

is assassi-  
 nated in  
 going to  
 the the-  
 atre.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the fes-  
 tivity, Philip often appeared in public with un-  
 guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment  
 of all his subjects : but proceeding one day from  
 the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the  
 heart by Pausanias<sup>13</sup>, a Macedonian ; whether  
 the assassin was stimulated merely by private re-  
 sentment, or prompted by the ill-appeased rage  
 of Olympias, or instigated to commit this atro-  
 city by the Persian satraps ; which last is asserted  
 by Alexander<sup>14</sup>, who alleged the assassination of  
 his father among his reasons for invading the Per-  
 sian empire.

His cha-  
 racter.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-se-  
 venth year of age and twenty-fourth of his reign;  
 the first prince whose life and actions history hath  
 described with such regular accuracy, and circum-  
 stantial fulness, as render his administration a mat-  
 ter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a  
 reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself,  
 he united all the prominent features of the Gre-  
 cian character ; valour, eloquence, address, flexi-  
 bility to vary his conduct without changing his  
 purpose, the most extraordinary powers of appli-  
 cation and perseverance, of cool combination and  
 ardent

<sup>13</sup> Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

<sup>14</sup> Arrian. l. ii. c. iii. & Curtius, l. iv. c. i.



ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of CHAP.  
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his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not his days been shortened by a premature death, there is reason to believe that he would have subdued the Persian empire; an enterprise more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendour of extensive foreign conquest; Philip would have reached the height of such renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the sole depositary of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander; but it was not the only circumstance that rendered

Difficul-  
ties at-  
tending  
the acces-  
sion of  
Alexander

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to the  
Macedo-  
nian  
throne.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 1.  
A.C. 336.

rendered his situation difficult. The regular order of succession had never been clearly established in Macedon, and was, in some measure, incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which, as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promiscuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalry of his brothers, since Ptolemy, born of Arsinoë, and afterwards king of Egypt, was reputed to be the son of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arsinoë, while she was with child by himself; and Aridæus, the son of Philina, who, for six years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East, by the terror of his brother's name, and through the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed too feeble an understanding to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip so little feared the revival of his pretensions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a bold and enterprising commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinswoman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends for crushing those dangerous enemies<sup>11</sup>; and being acknowledged king of Macedon,

<sup>11</sup> Diodorus, l. xvii. 2. & seqq. & Justin. xi. 1. & seqq.

Macedon, hastened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be lost by delay. CHAP. XXXVII.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconstancy of the Thessalians, whom he chastised with proper severity; and having assembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the same honours<sup>16</sup> which had been conferred on his predecessor. During his residence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose singular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the sun<sup>17</sup>, and having made himself known as the master of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the sun," was the answer of the cynic: upon which the king observed to his attendants, that he would choose to be Diogenes<sup>18</sup> if he were not Alexander. The observation was natural and sublime; since, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real resemblance. Both possessed that proud erect spirit which disdains authority, spurns controul, and aspires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his desires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the states at Corinth.

His character displayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

Alexander,

<sup>16</sup> Diodor. & Justin. xvii. 2. & seqq. & Justin. xi. 1. & seqq.  
<sup>17</sup> Pausan. l. ii. p. 88. <sup>18</sup> Laertius in Vit. Diogen.



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His expedition  
against  
the Illyri-  
ans and  
Triballi.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 2.  
A.C. 335.

He de-  
feats the  
independ-  
ent  
tribes of  
Thrace.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had hastily taken arms to oppose, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his son. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving such formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had seized an eminence commanding the pass; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude this unusual attack, Alexander commanded such of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free issue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending waggons might harmless bound over them. In consequence of this contrivance, the hostile artillery was exhausted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their swiftness and knowledge of the country saved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for sale to the maritime cities on the Euxine <sup>19</sup>.

Alexander,

<sup>19</sup> Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2. & seqq.

Alexander, having intrusted this business to Lyfanius and Philotas, passed the mountains, and pursued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and slingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, distant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, surrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to assault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honourable pretence for declining the siege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined resolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those signs of defiance, and animated by the glory of passing the greatest of all European rivers, and that which was surrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank, which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march

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The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

Alexander passes the Danube.

CHAP. through those rich fields <sup>20</sup> with transversed spears ;  
 XXXVII. while they remained concealed in the corn, the  
 cavalry followed them ; but as soon as they emerged  
 into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the  
 front, and both suddenly presenting an irresistible  
 object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post,  
 and fled to their city, which was four miles distant.  
 There, they at first proposed to make a vigorous  
 defence ; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously  
 skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an  
 ambush, reflecting on his astonishing boldness in  
 passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one  
 night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness  
 of his phalanx, and the irresistible impetuosity  
 of his cavalry <sup>21</sup>, they regarded farther opposition  
 as vain, forsook their habitations, and retired pre-  
 cipitately, with their wives and children, into the  
 northern desert <sup>22</sup>.

receives  
 the sub-  
 mission of  
 the neigh-  
 bouring  
 nations.

The Macedonians entered, and sacked the  
 town. The spoil was entrusted to Philip and  
 Meleager ; Alexander, mindful of so many fa-  
 vours, returned sacrifices of thanks to Jupiter,  
 Hercules, and the god of the Danube ; and, en-  
 camping on the northern bank of the river, re-  
 ceived very submissive embassies from the sur-  
 rounding

<sup>20</sup> Πλαγίαις ταις σαρίσσαις επικλιναῖς τοῦ σιτοῦ. The spears  
 were transversed, not only for the purpose of concealment,  
 " but to make a road through the corn."

<sup>21</sup> Φόβειν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ ξυμπλοῆς, βία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἵππων  
 ἔμβολη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper use of  
 cavalry, which was so little understood in the last century,  
 that the three ranks fired successively before the charge ; each,  
 after firing, passing, by a caracol, behind the rest. Gustavus  
 Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire ; which was,  
 doubtless, a great improvement, and paved the way for re-  
 ducing the service of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian  
 calls " ἡ βία ἔμβολη."

<sup>22</sup> Arrian. l. i. p. 3. & seqq.



rounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, sent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian, and an enemy <sup>23</sup>.

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Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to subdue the Asiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chastise the boastful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), sent ambassadors to Alexander, who observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, "what, of all things, they most feared?" not doubting but they would answer, "Yourself;" but they replied, "the fall of Heaven." The king declared them his friends and allies, but whispered to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people <sup>24</sup>." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambassadors were really sent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleasant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, son of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewise an

Alexander reduces the Taulantii and other Illyrian tribes.

A a 2

Illyrian

<sup>23</sup> Arrian, l. i p. 3, & seqq.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208, & 209.

CHAP. XXXVII. Illyrian nation, likewise had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the life-time of Philip, Langarus<sup>25</sup> had discerned the superior merit of his son, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important share in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive; the Autariadæ, broken by domestic calamity, or alarmed by private danger, abandoned the design of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without opposition to Pellion, the principal strong hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purposing to attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united assault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid vestiges of their bloody superstition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having just sacrificed, they wanted time to remove<sup>26</sup>.

Meanwhile Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, approached with a great force<sup>27</sup> to relieve Pellion, and

<sup>25</sup> Λαγάρης :: : καὶ Φίλιππος ζῶντος ἀσπάζομενος Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἡλίου, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκπεσόντος παρ' αὐτοῦ. Arrian, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Arrian, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria

and assist his ally. Alexander had dispatched CHAP. XXXVII.  
 Philotas to forage at the head of a strong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the assistance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a decisive action thus seemed inevitable, if the thickness of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper scene for a general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, and ably supported. But the discipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By surprise, by stratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which destroyed at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres<sup>28</sup> as had never been before seen, on the banks of the Apfus<sup>29</sup> and Erigonè, he totally dispersed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were slain, and many made captive; a remnant having burnt their city, which they despaired being able to defend, sought refuge among the Taulantian mountains<sup>30</sup>.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had perished in Illyria; and, as men readily *believe* that which their interest makes them *wish*<sup>31</sup>, this vague rumour was greedily embraced by

Rebellion in Greece.  
 Olymp.  
 cxi. 2.  
 A.C. 335.

Illyria were populous in those days; but as every man was a soldier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

<sup>28</sup> These are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6. who, it must be acknowledged, appears sometimes too fond of displaying his skill in tactics.

<sup>29</sup> Otherwise called the Eordaicus.

<sup>30</sup> Arrian. p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰς ἀληθείας, τὰς μάλας καὶ ἰδιώτους εἰρήσαντο συλλήψεις.  
 "Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures."  
 Idem, p. 8.



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by the partisans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues resumed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themselves heading the revolt<sup>32</sup>; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having secretly recalled their exiles, treacherously<sup>33</sup> murdered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Destruction  
of  
Thebes.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 2.  
A.C. 335.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Boeotia, and in the space of fourteen days after his receiving the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of being interrupted by rebellions in Europe<sup>34</sup>. But, notwithstanding this

<sup>32</sup> The Lacedæmonians, says Arrian, were *γυναις αφηρητοις*, revolted in their minds.

<sup>33</sup> The seized them without the garrison, *αυτοι υποτοπησαντες πολειμιοι*, "suspecting no hostility."

<sup>34</sup> Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Græcs, and the learned author of the *Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre*, who says, p. 46, "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grèce par quelque coup d'éclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues. Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses, thrice

this sagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of obstinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the insurgents time to repent of their rashness. The wiser part of the Thebans proposed to embrace the opportunity of sending ambassadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the sedition encouraged the multitude to persevere; and instead of shewing any remorse for their past crimes, sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew several of the Macedonian out-guards<sup>35</sup>.

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Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, son of Andromenes; but both were so warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander saw the necessity of reinforcing them, lest they should be surrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but, soon rallying, beat back the assailants, and pursued them with disordered ranks. Alexander then seized the decisive moment of advancing with a close phalanx. His assault was irresistible. The Thebans fled amain: and such was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place.

The occasion and circumstances of that event.

A dreadful Cruelty of the Greek auxiliaries.

thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. *Ευδιδας επι τοις θεβαισις τριβαν, η μεταγνοστις επι τοις κακως γνωστοις, προσβουσαιτο παρ αυτοις.* And again, *Επι γαρ τοις θεβαισις δια φιλιας ελθον πολλοι τι η δια κινδυνου ηθελε.* And still to the same purpose, *Αλεξανδρος δε υδι ως τη ποδα προσεβαλαν.* Arrian, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 8, & seqq.

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A dreadful slaughter ensued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Plataeans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number<sup>36</sup>, were either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts  
of mercy  
owing to  
Alexan-  
der.

Heroism  
of Timo-  
clea.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries<sup>37</sup>. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded, likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Plataea. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light, that displayed his magnanimity. It happened in the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having gratified

<sup>36</sup> According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. *ibid.* Ælian Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

<sup>37</sup> Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.



ed his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and silver. She conducted him to a garden, and shewed him a well, into which she pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp it, while the woman being behind, pushed him headlong into the cistern, and covered him with stones. Timoclea was seized by the soldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aspect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander asked her, "Who she was, that could venture to commit so bold a deed?" "I am," replied she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian Freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her answer, and desired her to depart free with her children <sup>28</sup>.

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While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embassies from the Greeks. Those affected most friendship in their speeches who had most enmity in their hearts. The Athenians sent to deprecate his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the persons of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimously passed for trying the orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting on them such punishment as their offences should appear to merit. This pretended forwardness in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander.

Alexander receives the congratulatory embassies of the Greeks.

The

<sup>28</sup> Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

CHAP. XXXVII. The artful decree, which was immediately transmitted to him, was rendered still more acceptable, by being delivered by Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful service<sup>39</sup>. Amidst the various embassies to the king, the Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnanimous silence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and without deigning to require their assistance, prepared for the greatest enterprize that ever was undertaken by any Grecian general.

Transactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the East. Olymp. cxi. 3. A.C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon, was celebrated with all the pomp of Grecian superstition. A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of *Ægæ*. Continual games and sacrifices were performed in *Dium*, during the space of nine days, in honour of the *Muses*. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. *Parmenio* and *Antipater*, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander disdained such considerations.

<sup>39</sup> The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare *Diodorus*, l. xvii. p. 498. *Æschin.* in *Ctesiphont.* *Plut.* in *Vit. Alexand.* & *Arrian*, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs *Arrian's* authority stands unrivaled; but *Æschines*, a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning the civil transactions of the Athenians.

considerations. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father<sup>40</sup>.

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Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand men<sup>41</sup>, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry<sup>42</sup>. In twenty days march, he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in an hundred and sixty galleys, and probably a still greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast, the Persians, though long ago apprised of the intended invasion, having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with his army. Olymp. cxi. 3. A.C. 334.

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomannus had been raised by assassinations and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander succeeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in stifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying, the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recall the principles or manners which distinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually

State of the Persian empire.

<sup>40</sup> Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

<sup>41</sup> Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

<sup>42</sup> Arrian, p. 12.



**CHAP.** continually degenerating from the virtues which  
**XXXVII.** characterise a poor and warlike nation, without  
 acquiring any of those arts and improvements which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspes, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damascus, Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but such was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to have given him an income of sixty millions sterling<sup>43</sup>; a sum which will admit allowance for exaggeration, and still appear sufficiently great.

Circumstances which prepared it for destruction.

Although the extravagance and vices of Susa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Persians were prepared for destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved insufficient to keep in awe the distant satraps, or viceroys. The ties of a common religion and language, or the sense of a public interest, had never united into one system this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to these unfavourable circumstances we join the reflection, that under

<sup>43</sup> Justin. xiii. 1.

under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks C H A P. XXXVII. baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia, we shall not find much reason to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his Eastern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprised, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries<sup>44</sup>.

Having arrived in Asia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more successfully the power of superstition<sup>45</sup>, confirmed the confidence of his followers by many auspicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he pursued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, assembled in the town of Zeleia, distant sixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmolested, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union, but jealousy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He observed the danger of resisting the Macedonian infantry, who were superior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their king. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lose courage on the first disappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their safety depended on sudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general

Deliberation of the Persian factions.

Judicious advice of Memnon

<sup>44</sup> Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.

<sup>45</sup> Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, *passim*.

CHAP. general engagement. Without risking the event  
 XXXVII. of a battle, they had other means to check the  
 progress of the invaders. For this purpose, they  
 ought to trample down the corn with their nume-  
 rous cavalry, destroy all other fruits of the ground,  
 and desolate the whole country, without sparing  
 the towns and villages. Some rejected this ad-  
 vice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia<sup>46</sup>; Arsites, governor of Lesser Phrygia, declared with  
 indignation, that he would never permit the pro-  
 perty of his subjects to be ravaged with impunity.  
 These sentiments the more easily prevailed, be-  
 cause many suspected the motives of Memnon.  
 It was determined, therefore, by this council of  
 princes, to assemble their respective forces with  
 all possible expedition, and to encamp on the  
 eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway  
 between Zeleia and the Hellespont), which issuing  
 from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

Alexan- The scouts of Alexander having brought him  
 der pre- intelligence of the enemy's design, he immediate-  
 pares to ly advanced to give them battle. The phalanx  
 pass the marched by its flank in a double line<sup>47</sup>, the ca-  
 Granicus. valry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in  
 Olymp. the rear. The advanced guard, consisting of  
 cxi. 3. horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred  
 A. C. 334. light infantry, the whole commanded by Hege-  
 lochus, were detached to examine the fords of the  
 Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the  
 enemy. They returned with great celerity, to  
 acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were ad-  
 vantageously

<sup>46</sup> Αἰσχρὸν τὰς Περσὶν μεγαλειότηας, "Unworthy the mag-  
 nanimity of Persia" Diodor. p. 501.

<sup>47</sup> The διπλὴ φάλαγξ, is explained in this sense by Ælian  
 and Arrian. In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its  
 flank, that is, with a front of sixteen men. The διπλὴ φάλαγξ,  
 therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.



vantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young prince determined to pass the river. Having advanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horse spread to the right and left, the massy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

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While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in front, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unnecessary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of so formidable an army." These prudential considerations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform something worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Rejects  
the cautious  
counsels of  
Parmenio.

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.  
Battle of  
the Gra-  
nicus.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 3.  
A.C. 334.

gines. The Balistas and catapults, by which, in a similar situation, he had repelled the Taulantii, were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander distributed his orders; a dreadful silence ensued; the hostile armies beheld each other with resentment or terror. This solemn pause was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a signal given by Alexander, resounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers<sup>48</sup>, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewise advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent, as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they successively reached the shore. The Persian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*<sup>49</sup> with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian engagement which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their skilful evolutions and discipline;

<sup>48</sup> I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeness of their defensive armour. Milton mentions them in *Samson Agonistes*.

"Archers and slingers, *Cataphracts* and spears."

<sup>49</sup> The eight squadrons of chosen cavalry, which were of that kind called *Cataphracts*, were honoured with the name of *Companions* and friends of the king. Arrian & Diodor. *passim*.

discipline<sup>50</sup>; still more to their strength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree<sup>51</sup>, far surpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal success, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwise appeared unfurmountable. The attention of the enemy was so deeply engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they seem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his presence, and, after performing all the duties of a great general, displayed such personal acts of prowess as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be safely abandoned to the direction of their own resentment and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been trained from their youth, in the more conspicuous parts of the field. Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armour,

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

Personal  
prowess  
of Alex-  
ander and  
the Ma-  
cedonian  
captains.

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mour,

<sup>50</sup> They derived great advantages, particularly, from the light infantry intermixed with their squadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Persian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their lances.

<sup>51</sup> At myrtus validis hastilibus & bona bello  
Cornus.



CHAP. XXXVII. mour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midst of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his master of horse, Aretes shewed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the king with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and assaulted Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the hostile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Ræfaxes with a hatchet. His helmet saved his life. He pierced the breast of Ræfaxes; but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grasped weapon.

The Persians defeated.

The heroism of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy first fled, where the king commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way before the Macedonian infantry had completely passed the river<sup>52</sup>. The stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit. The foot, consisting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, still continued in their first position, not

<sup>52</sup> Guischardt, p. 208, says, " Aussitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout son front hérissé de piques, la victoire cessa d'être douteuse." It appears not, however, that the phalanx at all acted against the Persian cavalry. The battle of Granicus was entirely an equestrian engagement, as had been prophesied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xxii. p. 571.

not firm, but inactive, petrified by astonishment, not steady through resolution <sup>53</sup>. While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks. Surrounded on all sides, they fell an easy prey; two thousand surrendered prisoners; the rest all perished, unless a few stragglers perchance lurked among the slain.

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The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omars leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cappadocia, Mithridates son-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales son of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the slain. Such illustrious names might lead us to suspect, that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian <sup>54</sup> represents them; and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in such

Loss on  
both sides.

B b 2

an

<sup>53</sup> *Εκπληξήν μάλλον τι τῷ παραλογῷ, ἢ λογισμῷ, Σέβανω.* Arrian. It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves till they beheld the issue of the equestrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guischart in his admirable *Memoires Militaires*, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment they met with in the present battle, seem sufficient to remove that dishonourable suspicion. Their conduct, seemingly unaccountable, is ascribed by Arrian, to their astonishment, that Alexander's cavalry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian horse, which was four times more numerous.

<sup>54</sup> Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572, makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Persians, he says, were six hundred thousand.

CHAP. an important engagement, Alexander should have  
 XXXVII. lost only eighty five horsemen, and thirty light  
 infantry<sup>55</sup>. Of the former, twenty-five belonged  
 to the royal band of Companions. By com-  
 mand of Alexander, their statues were formed by  
 the art of his admired Lysippus<sup>56</sup>, and erected in  
 the Macedonian city of Diium.

Humanity  
 and  
 prudence  
 of Alex-  
 ander.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceased thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute<sup>57</sup>. He carefully visited the wounded, attentively asked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much boasted exploits. The Persian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. But even this severity Alexander softened by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he sent three hundred suits of Persian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following

<sup>55</sup> Others diminished the loss to thirty-five horsemen and nine foot soldiers. Aristobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

<sup>56</sup> Arrian says ὅστις καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου μόνος προεβίβησεν εἰκασίαν. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtless, increased the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have spoke more accurately, had he said, "to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artists represented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

<sup>57</sup> Arrian distinguishes τῶν ἀντικειμένων λειτουργίας; καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνάγκας προσφοράς, personal services; and contributions, in proportion to their property.



following words : " Gained by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians) from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks ; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition ; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively associated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his service.

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The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia ; in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns surrendered at his approach. Sardis, the splendid capital of Croesus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more obtained the privilege of being governed by its ancient laws, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the burden of tribute, and the oppression of garrisons ; and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired their ancient glory in arts and arms, resumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Persian expedition of Alexander, the Ephesians were still employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been set on fire by Herostratus, twenty years before that period, and on the same night, it is said, which gave birth to the destined conqueror of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking ; and, in order to accelerate its progress, commanded the tribute which had been

Immediate consequence of the victory.

CHAP. been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to  
XXXVII. the temple of Diana <sup>58</sup>.

Siege of  
Miletus  
and Hali-  
carnassus.

Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the progress of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down before it, when the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected, he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But a nocturnal sally attacked these preparations; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies <sup>59</sup>.

Bold ad-  
venture  
of two  
Macedo-  
nian sol-  
diers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, whilst they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than with an ambition to display their respective prowess. The centinels perceived their audacity, and

<sup>58</sup> Comp. Arrian, p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

<sup>59</sup> Arrian, p. 20.

and prepared to repel them ; but they killed the first men who approached, and threw javelins at others who followed them. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers belonging to the same battalion advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also, hastened to the defence of their friends ; a sharp conflict ensued ; the garrison was repelled ; the wall attacked ; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown ; and had great numbers joined in the assault, the town must have been taken by storm <sup>66</sup>.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obstinate as before ; two desperate sallies were made, and repelled with consummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious soldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the besieged would finally surrender, and thus save their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perished, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer resistance was impossible. In this emergency they displayed the same decisive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having summoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, set fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected as a defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, as well as to their arsenal

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Halicarnassus taken and reluctantly demolished. Olymp. cxi. 3. A.C. 334.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. p. 22.



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arsenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately sent a detachment to punish those who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with strict orders to spare such of the townsmen as were found in their houses. Next day, he examined the castles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loss of time; but that independent of the town, they were of themselves of little value; a circumstance which obliged him, reluctantly, to demolish Halicarnassus, that it might never thenceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies<sup>61</sup>.

Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive season of the year was employed by Alexander in securing and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the discretion of his lieutenants; the king in person visited his more important conquests; and few places were honoured with his presence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the administration to Ada, the hereditary governess of that province. Ada was the sister, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and those of Upper Asia, where female succession had been established ever since the age of Semiramis. But the great king, with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the just claim of Ada, and seated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princess, however, still maintained possession of the strongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada hastened to meet him,

<sup>61</sup> Arrian, 23.

him, addressed him by the name of son, and voluntarily surrendered to him Alinda. The king neither rejected her present, nor declined her friendship; and, as he always repaid favours with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

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The measures of Alexander were equally decisive and prudent. The Persian fleet, supplied by Egypt, Phoenicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times out-numbered his own, which, small as it was, still appeared too expensive for his treasury. Alexander determined to discharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy<sup>62</sup>. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was dispatched into Greece to raise new levies; and such soldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were sent home to winter with their wives; a measure which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the utmost alacrity of his European subjects in furnishing supplies towards the ensuing campaign.

Accompanied by such winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander seemed worthy to govern

The arts by which he secured his conquests.

<sup>62</sup> It will appear in the sequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to pursue, with security, his conquests in the East.

CHAP. XXXVII. vern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of sentiment; but it could not have been more subservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. The tributary princes and satraps readily submitted to a milder and more magnanimous master; and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favourite institutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animosity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry, and alleviated public burdens. His taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He considered the Barbarians, not as slaves, but as subjects; the Greeks, not as subjects, but allies; and both perceived in his government such moderation and equity, as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta<sup>63</sup>.

Singular  
felicity of  
Alexander's  
march  
from Phae-  
selis to  
Perga.

Having received the submission of Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the sake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains,

<sup>63</sup> Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, passim; & Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. & Diodor.



mountains, while the king in person pursued the still more dangerous track, leading along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore, the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the south. Yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies<sup>64</sup> which announced success to his undertaking. The event, which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; a brisk gale sprang up from the north; the sea retired; and their march thus became alike easy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Josephus, with no less indecency than folly, compares with the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philosophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring instances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, seemed to be produced by the immediate

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<sup>64</sup> While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promised glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the sea-coast, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, signifying that the time was come when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, *τετοιας σημεως, ημενητο το παραλιας ανακατασκευασθαι*. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he hastened to subdue the coast." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an historian to say, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

CHAP. diate interposition of divine power, which, in ef-  
 XXXVII. fecting an important revolution in the eastern  
 world, rendered the operations of nature, and the  
 volitions of men, subservient to the secret purposes  
 of its providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. The Aspendians offered to surrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garrison. Alexander granted their request, on condition of their raising fifty talents to pay his soldiers, and delivering to him the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambassadors accepted these terms; but their countrymen, who were distinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still more than by their commerce and their wealth, discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery while he examined the walls of Syllius, another strong hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aspendus, the greater part of which was situate on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were likewise built on the plain, surrounded only by a slight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town ascended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aspendians, alarmed by the apprehensions of a siege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He commanded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on; to pay, instead of fifty, an hundred talents, and to surrender their principal citizens as securities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor set over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and submit to arbitration a dispute

He pun-  
 nishes the  
 treachery  
 of Aspen-  
 dus.

pute concerning some lands, which they were  
accused of having unjustly wrested from their  
neighbours<sup>65</sup>.

Having chastised the insolence and treachery of  
Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into  
Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio,  
whom he had commanded to meet him in that  
country. The new levies from Greece and Ma-  
cedon were likewise ordered to assemble in the  
same province; from which it was intended, early  
in the spring, to proceed eastward, and atchieve  
still more important conquests. To reach the  
southern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was un-  
der a necessity of traversing the inhospitable  
mountains of the warlike Pisidians. Amidst those  
rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians lost several  
brave men; but the undisciplined fury, and un-  
armed courage, of the Pisidians, was unable to  
check the progress of Alexander. The city of  
Gordium in Phrygia, was appointed for the gene-  
ral rendezvous. This place is distant about se-  
venty-five miles from the Euxine, and two hun-  
dred and forty from the Cilician Sea; and was fa-  
mous, in remote antiquity, as the principal resi-  
dence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of  
their opulence and grandeur<sup>66</sup>. Alexander had  
not long arrived in that place, when a desire seized  
him of ascending to the ancient castle or palace of  
Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his  
chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of  
Asia. Gordius, as the story went, was a man of  
small fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who  
had but a small piece of land, and two yokes of  
oxen, one of which he employed in the plough,  
and the other in the waggon. It happened to  
Gordius,

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Alexan-  
der enters  
Phrygia.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 4.  
A.C. 333.

His ad-  
venture at  
Gordium.

<sup>65</sup> Arrian, p. 26.

<sup>66</sup> See vol. i. c. vii.



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Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains<sup>67</sup> in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom, having communicated his errand, she ordered him to ascend the hill, and there sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the sacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a son, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was distinguished by his beauty and valour. It should seem that the father of Midas had, in consequence of his marriage, settled among the Telmessians, with whose arts his son would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were harassed by cruel seditions; they consulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot should soon bring them a king, who would appease their tumults. While the assembly still deliberated on the answer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot<sup>68</sup>, accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him king; their seditions ceased; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated

<sup>67</sup> Arrian, p. 27, calls it *υπερυψηλον, και παντη αποτομον*. "Exceedingly high, and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at least, the Telmessians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> The Greek word *αμαξα* expresses either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us, this *αμαξα* was "cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatiusque usu abhorrens," l. iii. c. i. p. 10.

secrated his father's chariot, and suspended it by a CHAP. cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the XXXVII. knot of which was so nicely tied; that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by historians <sup>69</sup>; but all agree that his followers retired with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle. A seasonable storm of thunder confirmed their credulity <sup>70</sup>; and the belief that their master was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

The rapid progress of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that season of the year, when armies are little accustomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our surprise at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had signalized his valour against the fiercest nations of Asia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons against Alexander, from those by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardusians <sup>71</sup>. Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he hoped to destroy him by the arm of an assassin. Many traitors were suborned for this infamous purpose, but none with greater prospect of success than Alexander, the son of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus

<sup>69</sup> Curtius, l. iii. c. i. says, he cut it with his sword. Plutarch says he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts; and the latter on the authority of Aristobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

<sup>70</sup> Arrian, p. 31.

<sup>71</sup> Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Persian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

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Arrabæus were condemned as accessory to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entrusted with the command of the Theſſalian cavalry, after the nomination of Calas, who held that high office; to the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude, and seduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the vigilance of Parmenio<sup>72</sup>, who communicated the intelligence to his master, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy son of Æropus was seized, and committed to safe custody.

The army  
of Darius  
marches  
from  
Upper  
Asia.

Darius, without desisting from his intrigues, finally had recourse to arms. His troops were assembled in the plains of Babylon. They consisted of an hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure, or more remote, sent their

<sup>72</sup> According to Arrian, p. 25. a swallow shared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, the swallow hovered around his head, perching sometimes on one side of his couch, and sometimes on another. Its incessant chattering roused the king from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noisy and troublesome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Aristander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the king by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.



their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Persian service, is said to have amounted to six hundred thousand men. The magnificence of the Persians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their muster was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monarch <sup>73</sup>. Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a pallisade. The whole army, passing successively into this enclosure, were rather measured than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the splendour that surrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treasures, and his concubines, all escorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their master <sup>74</sup>.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, slowly advanced towards Lower Asia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city of Galatia. In that place, he received an embassy from the Paphlagonians, who surrendered to him the sovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders. He granted their request, and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. Alexander

Alexander  
passes the  
northern  
Gate of  
Cilicia.

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C c

then

<sup>73</sup> See vol. i. c. ix.

<sup>74</sup> Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges huic agmini proximæ. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. iii. & Diodor. l. xvii. p. 580.

CHAP. then marched victorious through Cappadocia;  
 XXXVII. and Sabictas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province, the army encamped at the distance of six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's camp. Towards the south, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three sides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arsames, governor of that country, had sent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprised of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the Targeteers, Archers, and Agrians, to surprise the Persian forces stationed at the northern gate of Cilicia. The barbarians fled on his approach; and the pusillanimous Arsames, to whom the whole province was entrusted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarsus. But he had only time to save his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

Falls sick  
 at Tarsus.

At Tarsus, Alexander was detained by a malady, occasioned by excessive fatigue; or, as others say, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that city, in a clear and rocky channel<sup>75</sup>. Philip the Acarnanian was the only person who despaired.

<sup>75</sup> Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness. "Frigidissimus quippe nulla riparum amenitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. iv. His laboured description of this river seems as if he imagined *that* water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander.

spaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who was bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; so that the physician read, while the king drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity<sup>76</sup>, has been construed into a proof of both.

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The sickness of Alexander, interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to seize the only pass on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Assyria. The king soon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiosity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, which was distinguished by the statue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and, by an Assyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of modern Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpose: "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarsus in one day. As to you, stranger! eat, drink, and sport<sup>77</sup>, for other human things are not worth this." Alluding to the clap of his hands<sup>78</sup>.

Alexander  
marches  
to Mallos.

C c 2

Having

<sup>76</sup> See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. v.

<sup>77</sup> The word translated "sport," i. *παῖς* in Arrian. p. 32. But that author says, the Assyrian original had a more lascivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. translates it *ἀποδοῦναι*, "veneri indulge."

<sup>78</sup> Mr. de Guignes, so deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inscription to be entirely conformable to the style and manners of the East. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & seqq.



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Alexander  
passes the  
Syrian  
straits;  
and Dari-  
us, in an  
opposite  
direction,  
the defiles  
of Ama-  
nus.

Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, distant only two days march from the Cilician frontier. The hostile armies were separated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander hastened to pass the straits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded southwards along the bay of Issus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place, he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occasioned by sickness, and by the many pious ceremonies<sup>79</sup> with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was ascribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings<sup>80</sup>, easily persuaded the vain credulity of their master, that Alexander shunned his approach. The proud resentment of Darius was exasperated by the imagined fears of his adversary; with the impatience of a despot, he longed to come to action; and not suspecting that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates in search of the enemy, he hastily determined to pass, in an opposite direction<sup>81</sup>, the straits of Amanus in quest of Alexander. This fatal measure was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding the strong representations of Amyntas<sup>82</sup> the Macedonian,

<sup>79</sup> Processions with lighted torches, sacrifices to Æsculapius, gymnastic and musical contests. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

<sup>80</sup> Arrian expresses this sentiment with more than his usual energy: *Τὸν κατὰ νόμον ζυγοῦσαν τε καὶ ζυγομαχῶν περὶ κακῶν τοῖς καὶ βασιλευσσι.*

<sup>81</sup> These movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconsistent and unintelligible.

<sup>82</sup> Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He assured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Persians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

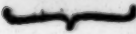
nian, and of all Darius's Grecian counsellors <sup>83</sup>; CHAP. XXXVII.  
 who unanimously exhorted him to wait the enemy in his present advantageous position. In the language of antiquity <sup>84</sup>, an irresistible fate, which had determined that the Greeks should conquer the Persians, as the Persians had the Medes, and the Medes the Assyrian, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march southward to the bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march across the mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men to death with shocking circumstances of cruelty <sup>85</sup>, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

That enlightened prince, who could scarcely believe the folly of Darius, sent a small flat-bottomed vessel to reconnoitre his motions. This vessel speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him with the agreeable news, that his enemies were now in his hands. Having summoned an assembly, the king forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion so naturally suggested, since the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no essential service.

<sup>83</sup> Aristomenes the Pherzan, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymondas, the son of Mentor, the Rhodian; and others mentioned by Arrian, *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> Arrian. Plut. Diodor. Curt.

<sup>85</sup> *καὶ τὸν αἰσχροπρεπὲς θάνατον*, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he ascribes this ferocity to Darius himself.

CHAP. XXXVII.  vice. In proceeding to this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon, indeed, had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian isles with his fleet, was since dead; and his successors in command, after irritating the islanders by their insolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increased, by many voluntary accessions of the Asiatics, who admired his courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the soldiers, who the preceding year had been sent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus disposed to indulge the most sanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle<sup>86</sup>.

Disposition of  
both armies.

Alexander commanded them first to refresh their bodies; but immediately dispatched some horse and archers to clear the road to Issus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight took possession of the Syrian streights. The soldiers were then allowed a short repose, sufficient guards being posted on the surrounding eminences. At dawn the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the passage continued

<sup>86</sup> Arrian, p. 33—36.



continued narrow; and new columns being successively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had thus formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the sea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being apprised of the enemy's approach, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain, on Alexander's left, sloped inwards, Darius placed on that sinuosity twenty thousand men, who could see the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could advance against them. Behind the first line, the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield<sup>87</sup>.

His pusillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep; where the access seemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

The battle of  
Issus.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 4.  
A.C. 333.

<sup>87</sup> Arrian, p. 36.

CHAP. tions which shewed the enemy, that even before  
 XXXVII. the battle began, the mind of Darius was already  
 conquered<sup>88</sup>. Alexander, meanwhile, rood along  
 the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the several brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even such captains of the auxiliaries as were distinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and slow step, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then sprung into the river. Their impetuosity frightened the Barbarians, who scarcely waited the first shock<sup>89</sup>. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and success of Alexander's assault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement ensued, the Greeks, eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians, ambitious to maintain the unfulfilled glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and other officers of distinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the  
 the

<sup>88</sup> Καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς δηλὸς γίνετο τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ γυναικὶ διδουλαμένους. "And thence he immediately appeared to those about Alexander to be already enslaved in his mind." In those times, slavery was the natural consequence of being conquered in battle.

<sup>89</sup> They did, however, wait it; for Arrian says, εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἡ χεὶρ μάχῃ γίνετο. The "μάχῃ ἢ χεὶρ γίνετο." When the darts and javelins ceased, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile weapons.

the army with great slaughter, wheeled to the left, and, animated by recent victory, finally prevailed against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of Persian horse still maintained the battle against the Thessalian cavalry; nor did they quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himself to flight<sup>90</sup>. CHAP.  
XXXVII.

The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest on all sides. Their cavalry and infantry suffered equally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus<sup>91</sup>, says, that the pursuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the slain was computed at an hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles. Rout of  
the Persi-  
ans.

The great king had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects at stake. His left wing was no sooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound on the thigh<sup>92</sup>, judged it improper to pursue him, till the Greek mercenaries were dispersed; and the approach of night facilitated his escape. Escape of  
Darius.

The

<sup>90</sup> Arrian, l. ii. p. 36. & seqq.

<sup>91</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Chares, cited by Plutarch, says, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the silence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable assertion.



CHAP.  
XXXVII.

The cap-  
tives and  
booty.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence<sup>93</sup>. It contained however in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the great king, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This inestimable booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syfigambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderness of a parent, blended with the respect of a son. In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate of his friends<sup>94</sup>. Syfigambis approached to prostrate<sup>95</sup> herself before the conqueror, according to the custom

<sup>93</sup> Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐν τῷ κισθῆκος, "the Iliad of the casket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 888. Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>94</sup> Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterised the affection of Hephestion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>95</sup> Προσελθὼν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

tom of the East; but not knowing the king, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion. Hephestion suddenly stepping back, Syfigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, Madam!" said the king, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander"<sup>96</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Issus. The City of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostasy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the same generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had sternly refused, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambassadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his presence. Thebais and Dionysodorus, the Thebans, he instantly declared free, observing, that the misfortunes of their country justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every prince from whom they might derive relief. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the respect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles, the Spartan, alone, he detained in safe custody, because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon. But as his forgiveness still increased with his power<sup>97</sup>, he afterwards released Euthycles.

The virtues of Alexander expand with his prosperity.

<sup>96</sup> Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

<sup>97</sup> Arrian, p. 42.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Siege of Tyre.—Desperate Resistance of Gaza.—Easy Conquest of Egypt.—Foundation of Alexandria.—Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—Marches into Assyria.—Battle of Gaugamela.—Darius betrayed and slain.—Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius.—Bactrian and Scythian War.—Siege of the Sogdian Fortrefs.—Surrender of Chorienes.—Commutations in Greece.—Checked by Antipater.—The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes.—Æschines banished.—State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.*

C H A P.  
XXXVIII.

Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

**I**N his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror<sup>1</sup>. Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war, to which he immovably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried by an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war might be removed

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ταχιστα μισθῶν αὐτῷ τὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶν Εὐφράτην ποταμῶν. Arrian, p. 40.



moved to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians suspicious friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cælo-Syria, he therefore directed his march southward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon<sup>2</sup>, readily opened their gates. The Tyrians sent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the son of Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community<sup>3</sup> from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules<sup>4</sup>.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered equal firmness and prudence. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This boldness appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
Description and  
state of  
Tyre.

<sup>2</sup> I omit the story of Abdelermius, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. i. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian says, that these ambassadors were αὐτοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. It should seem that the king of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

<sup>4</sup> The reader may recollect, that Philip sent a similar message to Atheas, king of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

customed to war<sup>5</sup>. But the resources of their wealth and commerce seem to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon<sup>6</sup>, had long reigned queen of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast<sup>7</sup>, early gave them possession of that lucrative trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most countries of antiquity<sup>8</sup>. Tyre was separated from the continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls exceeded an hundred feet<sup>9</sup> in height, and extended eighteen miles in circumference. The convenience of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron<sup>10</sup>.

Alexander besieges Tyre. Olymp. cxii. 1. A.C. 332.

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the siege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which seemed necessary in itself, and essential to the success of still

<sup>5</sup> Old Tyre was built on the continent, by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmaneser, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezzar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but the greater part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. l. viii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. & l. x. cap. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

<sup>8</sup> Homer. Herodot. &c. passim.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian says one hundred and fifty feet. The copies probably are erroneous.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch. Curtius. Arrian.

still more important enterprises, only stimulated CHAP. XXXVIII. the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldness is the greatest prudence. Throws a mole across the Firth; The first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure arose from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and missile weapons from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewise, having the command of the sea, annoyed the workmen from their galleys, and retarded the completion of their labours. To resist these assaults, Alexander erected, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to resist the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, however, which is destroyed by the Tyrians. the ingenuity of his adversaries soon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raised two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon instrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the sea by two galleys. As she approached the mole, the rowers set her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were soon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the



CHAP. the flames; and the labour of many weeks was  
XXXVIII thus in one day reduced to ruins<sup>11</sup>.

Alexander raises a new mole.

His military and naval reinforcements.

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against such accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raised, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toils exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were always obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of stone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus<sup>12</sup>; and it should seem that the Arabians having disturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave rise to the improbable fiction of his having conquered Arabia. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forces seasonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhausted by fatigue, and dejected by defeat. At the same time the fleets of the maritime provinces, which he had subdued, came to offer their assistance in an undertaking, which could scarcely have proved

<sup>11</sup> Arrian, p. 44, & seqq.

<sup>12</sup> Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endless to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this siege, which is one of the most romantic passages in his history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taste the picturesque beauties of his style will atone for errors in matter of fact. He may be allowed to raise an imaginary storm, who can describe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levare, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus cedere, & inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose actions he disfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that is entitled to condemn Curtius.

proved successful, while the Tyrians commanded the sea. The squadrons of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels <sup>13</sup>, so that the Tyrians, who hitherto confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for safety.

But these persevering islanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulk and gallies <sup>14</sup>, destined to advance the battering engines against their walls were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows <sup>15</sup>, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even

Singular  
operations of the  
siege.

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D d

this

<sup>13</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. says, that it consisted of one hundred and eighty sail. Plutarch. in Alexand. says, that the haven of Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he says, a vessel of fifty oars, *πεντηκονταρος*; a circumstance which proves that on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

<sup>14</sup> Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest sailers. Arrian, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *Πεπρωτοι οιστοι*.

**C H A P.** this did not facilitate the removal of the bar ; for  
**XXXVIII.** the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under  
 water, and again cutting the cables, set the Macedonian vessels adrift. It thus became necessary to prepare chains, which were used instead of ropes ; by which contrivance the hulks were secured in firm anchorage, the bank of stones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

The Tyrians defeated at sea.

In this extremity the Tyrians, still trusting to their courage, determined to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of this design could only be surpassed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previously covered with spread sails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. The hour of attack was fixed at mid-day, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians were usually employed in private affairs, or the care of their bodies, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The best sailing vessels were carefully selected from the whole fleet<sup>16</sup>, and manned with the most expert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all enured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At first they came forth in a line, slowly and silently ; but having proceeded within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced abreast of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were sunk at the first shock ; others were dashed in pieces against the shore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a short time in his pavilion, was no sooner

<sup>16</sup> They consisted, says Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 185.



sooner informed of this desperate sally, than, with CHAP. XXXVIII.  
 admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered such vessels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with several quinquere, and five trireme, gallies, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The besieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recall their ships. They had scarcely changed their course, when the enemy assailed, and soon rendered them, unserviceable. The men saved themselves by swimming; few vessels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

The issue of these naval operations decided the Tyre taken by assault. Olymp. cxii. 1. A.C. 332. July.  
 fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines on all sides. Amidst repeated assaults during two days, the besiegers displayed the ardour of enthusiasm<sup>17</sup>, the besieged the fury of despair. From towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing pontoons across, the bravest  
 D d 2 sometimes

<sup>17</sup> From the beginning, the difficulties of the siege had appeared almost unsurmountable to the soldiers. "But Alexander," says Curtius "haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the siege to employ the aids of superstition. At one time it was said, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a satyr, playing before him, long eluded his grasp, but finally allowed himself to be caught. The augurs divided the word *Σατυρος*, a Satyr, into two syllables, *Σα Τυρος*, Tyre is thine. By such course artifices did Alexander conquer the world.

CHAP. sometimes passed over, even to the battlements.  
 XXXVIII. In other parts, the Tyrians successfully employed hooks and grappling irons to remove the assailants. On those who attempted scaling-ladders, they poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was opposed by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhausted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perseverance of Alexander. On the third day, the engines assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the scaling ladders, to advance, that his soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, first mounted the breach. This gallant commander was slain by a spear; but Alexander, who was present wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the same time the Phenician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the siege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain; thirty thousand were reduced to servitude<sup>18</sup>. The principal

<sup>18</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. says, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were conquered by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked

principal magistrates, together with some Cartha-  
 ginians who had come to worship the Gods of  
 their mother-country, took refuge in the tem-  
 ple of Tyrian Hercules. They were saved by  
 the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had lost  
 four hundred men, in this obstinate siege of seven  
 months<sup>19</sup>.

The conquest of Phœnicia was followed by the  
 submission of the neighbouring province of Ju-  
 dæa<sup>20</sup>. But in the road leading to Egypt, the  
 progress

Submis-  
 sion of  
 Judæa.

embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon.  
 This circumstance, omitted by Arrian, derives some probabi-  
 lity from the vigorous resistance which, nineteen years after-  
 wards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid.  
 Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

<sup>19</sup> Arrian, l. ii. p. 44—50.

<sup>20</sup> All the historians of Alexander are silent concerning his  
 journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there,  
 described by Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. This story, invented  
 by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, is totally inconsistent with  
 the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine,  
 except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "Τὰ μὲν ἅλλα τῆς  
 Παλαιστίνης προσεκυχνηνота ἤδη." Alexander had no occasion  
 to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between  
 Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related  
 by Josephus, is likewise contradictory to the best authen-  
 ticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the  
 high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the con-  
 queror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated him-  
 self before that venerable old man; an action which so  
 much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his mas-  
 ter, "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself  
 adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the se-  
 quel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect  
 (the προσκυνησις), till long after the period alluded to by Jose-  
 phus; neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldeans, as  
 that writer alleges; much less could the high-priest, with  
 propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, set-  
 tled in Babylon and Medea, the free exercise of their religion,  
 before that prince had conquered those countries, or even  
 passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in  
 Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des  
 Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.



CHAP. XXXVIII. progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert<sup>21</sup>. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis<sup>22</sup>, an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by providing copious magazines. The Macedonian engineers<sup>23</sup> declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the king to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition<sup>24</sup>, he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breast-plate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the siege of Tyre, arrived by sea.

A wall

<sup>21</sup> Εσχάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν Ἀρμενίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγῆς τοῦ ἁγίου. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

<sup>22</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. Bahamefes.

<sup>23</sup> Οἱ μηχανουργοί, the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

<sup>24</sup> While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander, the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

A wall of incredible height and breadth <sup>25</sup> was run C H A P. XXXVIII. entirely round the city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the Miners <sup>26</sup> were busy at the foundation; breaches were effected; and, after repeated assaults, the city was taken by storm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without losing ground <sup>27</sup>, perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved; and Gaza, being repeopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza, was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In seven days march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium, to which he had previously sent the fleet, with an injunction carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt (Mazaces the satrap of that large province having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops,) opened a ready passage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. There, Alexander was received as sovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another,

<sup>25</sup> Ευρος μὲν ἑξ ὀκτὼ σταδίων, ὕψος δὲ ἑξ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα καὶ δακτύλιος. "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous.

<sup>26</sup> Ὑποσκαψὲς τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ οὐροσσομένους. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and uted only on great emergencies.

<sup>27</sup> Καὶ ἀνδραῖοι πάντες αὐτοὶ μάχομενοι, ὡς ἱκανοὶ σταχθῆσαν. The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Lyfias, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopylæ.

CHAP. another, always ready to obey the first summons  
 XXXVIII. of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for  
 a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success, Alexander sacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, which were adorned by Grecian artists, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces, and sailed down the Nile to Canopus<sup>28</sup>.

Founda-  
 tion of  
 Alexan-  
 dria.

At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercising his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving, his conquests, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived, what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the Lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation<sup>29</sup>, but traced the plan of his intended capital,

<sup>28</sup> Arrian, p. 51. & seqq.

<sup>29</sup> Egypt, says Baron Tott, who lately surveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a statesman, was formed to re-unite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It stood in need of a harbour, vast, and of easy success. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages; the only proper situation was distant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a desert. On this spot, which none but a great genius could have discovered, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth still respect



tal, described the circuit of the walls, and assigned the ground for its squares, market-places, and temples<sup>30</sup>. Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilised nations of the earth.

C H A P.  
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In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean, that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with the most attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or compelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a desolate country, but not destitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the south, into the midland territory despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary this

Alexander visits the temple of Ammon. Olymp. cxii. 1. A.C. 332.

respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarism, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive. Mem. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

<sup>30</sup> Arrian, l. iii. sub init.

CHAP. this gloomy scene of uniform sterility <sup>31</sup>. The  
 XXXVIII. superstition of the ancients believed him to have  
 been conducted by ravens, or serpents; which, without supposing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural instinct of animals, have sometimes bent their course, through the desert, towards a well-watered and fertile spot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the source of this fertility, formed not the least curiosity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossil salt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal. The priests of Ammon enclosed it in boxes of palm-tree, and bestowed it, in presents, on kings and other illustrious personages; such salt being regarded as purer than that procured from sea-water, and therefore preferred for the purpose of sacrifice, by persons curious in their worship <sup>32</sup>.

Alexander  
 settles the  
 govern-  
 ment of  
 Egypt.

Alexander admired the nature of the place, consulted the oracle concerning the success of his expedition, and received, as was universally reported, a very favourable answer <sup>33</sup>. Having thus effected his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to settle the affairs

<sup>31</sup> Arrian, p. 53. & seqq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.

<sup>32</sup> Arrian, *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The priest, or prophet, meant to address Alexander by the affectionate title of *παῖς*, child, son; but not being sufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he said, *παις* *Διός* son of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretensions to divinity. Plut. *ibid.* & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconsistent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were re-inflated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to administer the civil government; but the principal garrisons, Alexander prudently entrusted to the command of his most confidential friends<sup>34</sup>; a policy alike recommended by the strength and importance of the country, and by the restless temper of its inhabitants. CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the seat of arts and empire, and which actually compose the strength and centre of the Turkish power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vanished with a conqueror who demanded unconditional submission to his clemency<sup>35</sup>) still found resources in his eastern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Korosan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalise their restless valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Meanwhile,

<sup>34</sup> Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealousy of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not senators, but men of the equestrian order, to be proconsuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

<sup>35</sup> In this, Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers. In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each other, there are internal marks of falsehood.



CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

Alex-  
ander  
marches  
into As-  
syria.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 2.  
A. C. 331.

Meanwhile, Alexander having received considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from Phoenicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus<sup>36</sup>, boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the same province, sixty miles distant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation<sup>37</sup>.

Ap-  
proaches  
the ene-  
my.

The fourth day after passing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his scouts, that they had seen some bodies of the enemy's horse, but could not discover their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other scouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to slacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pæonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with such celerity, that several of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the strength of

<sup>36</sup> Darius had entrusted the defence of the pass to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks. But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

<sup>37</sup> This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours C H A P. march. Some made it amount to a million of XXXVIII. foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indus<sup>38</sup>. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to six hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thousand<sup>39</sup>. But all agreed that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Issus<sup>40</sup>.  
 Their numbers.

Alexander received this information without testifying the smallest surprise. Having commanded a halt, he encamped four days, to give his men rest and refreshment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was said to consist of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unincumbered with any thing but their provisions and armour. The march was undertaken at the second watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hostile camps, some eminences intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more  
 Examines the field of battle.

<sup>38</sup> Arrian, p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. xii, xiii. Edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

<sup>40</sup> Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. xxxix. & liii. Orosius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, summoned a council of war, and different measures being proposed, acceded to the single opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle<sup>41</sup>, and carefully examined the disposition of the enemy. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled by his courage, and both surpassed by his activity, performed those important duties in person, at the head of his light horse, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity, he again assembled his captains, and encouraged them by a short speech. Their ardour corresponded with his own; and the soldiers, confident of victory, were commanded to take rest and refreshment<sup>42</sup>.

Disposition  
of the  
enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithstanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Persian custom, the king occupied the

<sup>41</sup> Τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἵνα τὸ πρῶτον εἰσέλθῃ ἡ μάχη. "The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 58.

<sup>42</sup> Δειπνοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναπαυεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατὸν. "He commanded his army to sup and rest." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is said, p. 57, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄπλα φέρουσιν, "That the soldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore supplied the word "provisions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Curtius, l. iv. c. xiii. says, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the King answered, that he disdained κλεῖψαι τὴν νικῆν, "to steal the victory:" an answer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; since the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and courage.



the centre of the first line, surrounded by the CHAP. princes of the blood, and the great officers of his XXXVIII. court, and defended by his horse and foot guards, amounting to fifteen thousand chosen men. These splendid troops, who seemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked, on either side, by the Greek mercenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully selected from the whole army. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians. The various nations composing this immense host were differently armed, with swords, spears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horse and foot of each division were promiscuously blended, rather from the result of accident, than by the direction of design. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within sight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal assault, from enemies who often veiled their designs in darkness, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in a manner suggested by the superior numbers and deep battle;

CHAP. deep order of the enemy. His main body con-  
 XXXVIII. sisted in two heavy-armed phalanxes, each  
 amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of  
 these, the greater part formed into one line; be-  
 hind which, he placed the heavy-armed men, re-  
 inforced by his targeteers, with orders, that when  
 the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to  
 attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the se-  
 cond should immediately wheel to receive them<sup>43</sup>.  
 The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on  
 the wings, that while one part resisted the shock  
 of the Persians in front, another, by only fancying  
 to the right or left, might take them in flank.  
 Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper  
 intervals, as affording the best defence against the  
 armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew)  
 must immediately become useless, whenever their  
 conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode  
 of attack.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alex-  
 ander with equal judgment led the whole in an  
 oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a  
 manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to  
 avoid contending at once with superior numbers.  
 When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding  
 their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards  
 the right, Darius also extended his left, till, fear-  
 ing that by continuing this movement his men  
 should be drawn gradually off the plain, he  
 commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance,  
 and prevent the further extension of the hostile  
 line. Alexander immediately detached a body of  
 horse to oppose them. An equestrian combat  
 ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and  
 the

Battle of  
 Gauga-  
 mela.  
 Olymp.  
 cxii. 2.  
 A.C. 331.  
 October.

<sup>43</sup> Επιταξι δε και δευτερα ταξις ως ειπαι την φαλαγγα αμφοτερον.  
 Arrian, p. 60. The φαλαγγς αμφοτερος is explained by Ælian,  
 as described in the text.

the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed CHAP.  
 chariots then issued forth with impetuous violence; XXXVIII.  
 but their appearance only was formidable; for the  
 precautions taken by Alexander, rendered their  
 assault harmless. Darius next moved his main  
 body, but with so little order, that the horse,  
 mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a  
 vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted  
 time or vigilance to supply. Alexander seized the  
 decisive moment, and penetrated into the void  
 with a wedge of squadrons. He was followed by  
 the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed for-  
 ward with loud shouts, as if they had already pur-  
 sued the enemy. In this part of the field, the  
 victory was not long doubtful; after a feeble  
 resistance, the Barbarians gave way; and the  
 pusillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight <sup>44</sup>.

The battle, however, was not yet decided.  
 The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon  
 receiving intelligence that the left wing, com-  
 manded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not  
 immediately followed Alexander. A vacant  
 space was thus left in the Macedonian line,  
 through which some squadrons of Persian and In-  
 dian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced  
 to the hostile camp <sup>45</sup>. It was then that Alexander

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derived

<sup>44</sup> Εφύγε εν τοις πρωτοις αισχρης. "He fled shamefully among  
 the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

<sup>45</sup> The words of Arrian are, Αλλ' επισησαντις της φαλαγγος  
 (viz. the sections on the left), ηγωνιζοντο, οτι το ευνημον ποτισθαι  
 ηγγελλετο. Και ταυτη παραρρηγνυσιν αυτοις της ταξις, αμφοτε-  
 ροι διαχωρ. διακτανουσιν τινες της Ινδου ταξις, και της Περσικης ιππου. ως επι τα  
 σκευοφορα των Μακεδωνων, &c. The learned Guichardot's com-  
 mentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text.  
 "Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en  
 même-temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient  
 par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tâcherent aussi de  
 marcher



CHAP. derived signal and well-earned advantages from  
 XXXVIII. his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed  
 troops and targeteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed, or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who maintained a sharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæstion, Cænus, and Menidas were wounded. Having at length dissipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the business was already done, chiefly by the Thessalian horse; and nothing remained for Alexander, but

marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le fort de combat au centre, se presserent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embarrassa tellement les soldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jeta sur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même-temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier; les Perses se voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils se jetterent à corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put résister au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections, de celle-ci poussèrent en avant, & n'observerent pas que, depuis la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout-à-coup par la crevasse, & poussèrent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See *Mémoires Militaires*, c. xiv. p. 221.

but to pursue the fugitives, and to render the victory as decisive as possible <sup>46</sup>.

CH A P.  
XXXVIII.

According to the least extravagant accounts, with the loss of five hundred men, he destroyed forty thousand of the Barbarians <sup>47</sup>, who never  
 E e 2                      thenceforth

Conse-  
quences  
of the  
victory.

<sup>46</sup> Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspicuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by observing the immense disproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better solved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in smoke and confusion. 2. From the same cause, modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more difficult to observe and ascertain their manœuvres. 3. The immense train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impossible to perform, without great danger, those rapid evolutions in sight of an enemy, which so often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almost every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of historical description.

<sup>47</sup> In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not missile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached so nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times, the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various means of retreating with considerable safety. The sphere of military action is so widely extended in modern times, that before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and

CHAP. XXXVIII. thenceforth assembled in sufficient numbers to dispute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis<sup>48</sup>, formed the prize of his skill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the summit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown<sup>49</sup>. The burning of the royal palace of Persepolis<sup>50</sup>, to retaliate the ravages of Xerxes in

and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be said to have saved the effusion of human blood. Equestrian engagements (since the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the same in every age) are still distinguished by similar circumstances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

<sup>48</sup> The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>49</sup> After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deserve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be justly blamed.

<sup>50</sup> Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diodorus says inaccurately, *ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει*, "the place around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. vii. with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, is at pains to prove that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mussulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See *Examen Critique*, p. 125, & seqq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance



in Greece, afforded the first indication of his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary.

C H A P.  
XXXVII.

The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure<sup>51</sup> flight across the Armenian mountains into Media. Being gradually joined by the scattered remnant of his army, amounting to several thousand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purposed to establish his court in Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Babylon<sup>52</sup>; but in case he were still pursued by the conqueror, his resolution was to proceed eastward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waste the intermediate country,

Measures  
of Darius

distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mussulmen. See his Supplement to his *Recherches sur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce*.

<sup>51</sup> Arrian observes, that Darius shewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538, agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. 1. are too absurd to merit refutation.

<sup>52</sup> The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; since the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

country, that he might thus interpose a desert between himself and the Macedonians. In this design, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the waggon conveying his women, and such instruments of convenience or luxury as still softened his misfortunes; and remained in person at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when apprised of these measures, hastened into Media. In his way he subdued the Parætacæ; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, Darius's predecessor<sup>33</sup>. This prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot.

Alexander pursues Darius;

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treasures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and several auxiliary squadrons; paying them, besides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his standard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlist; a permission which many embraced. A strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left sick at Susa, was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; while the king, with a well-appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition<sup>34</sup>

in

<sup>33</sup> Arrian, p. 66, speaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predecessor, neglecting the short reign of Arses, the son of Ochus, who was poisoned soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 8.

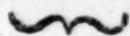
<sup>34</sup> His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day; sometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illustrate and confirm each other.

in pursuit of Darius. Having passed the Caspian CHAP. Straits, he was met by Bagistanes, a Babylonian XXXVIII. of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, satrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aside all respect for a prince who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he hastened forward with a few select bands, encumbered only with their arms, and two days provisions. In that space of time he reached the camp from which Bagistanes had deserted; and finding some parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius being seized and bound, was actually carried prisoner in his chariot; that Bessus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed the imperial honours; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his sons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their fidelity inviolate; but finding themselves unable to prevent the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the designs, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him, by delivering up Darius; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy.



CHAP.  
XXXVIII



who is  
treach-  
erously  
slain.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 3.  
A.C. 330.

my. He therefore dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to pursue the great road which Bessus had followed, advanced in person with his chosen band by a nearer way, which was almost desert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guides. From the close of evening till day-break he had rode near fifty miles, when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Satibarzanes and Barzaentes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by six hundred horse. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him<sup>55</sup>. Darius was the last king of the house of Hyfaspes, and the tenth in succession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct sufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predecessors<sup>56</sup>.

In

<sup>55</sup> Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in *Alexand.* & Curtius, l. v. c. xii. & Justin. l. xi. c. xv. are inconsistent with each other, and all of them betray the desire to contrast the exaltation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," says Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praise of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

<sup>56</sup> Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions representing Darius as a monster of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orientale*, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian?

In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm esteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He gave orders that the body of Darius should be transported to Persia, and interred in the royal mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince were uniformly treated with those distinctions which belonged to their birth; and Barciné<sup>57</sup>, his eldest daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian service, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his sons, well became the character of a prince, who could discern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then pursued the murderers of Darius through the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of six hundred furlongs. Having received the submission of Aornos<sup>58</sup> and Bactra, he passed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks of this river, that Bessus, who had betrayed his master, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was surprised by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity<sup>59</sup> better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

Spitamenes succeeded to his ambition and danger. In pursuit of this daring rebel, the resentment of Alexander hurried him through the vast but

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
Alexander pursues the murderers of Darius.

The Bactrian and Scythian war.

Olymp.

cxii. 4.

cxiii. 1.

A.C. 328.

329.

<sup>57</sup> Called by some writers Statira.

<sup>58</sup> We shall meet with another place of this name, between the Suastus and the Indus.

<sup>59</sup> He was stripped naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other murderers of Darius.

CHAP. but undescribed<sup>60</sup> provinces of Aria, Bactria,  
 XXXVIII. Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of  
 the southern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. These rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obstinately resisting, retreated skilfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear bought victories. The Scythians, on several occasions, surprised his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the quickness of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable<sup>61</sup>. But the enlightened intrepidity, and inimitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over

<sup>60</sup> The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subsequent discoveries, in the learned work entitled, *Examen des Anciens Historiens d' Alexandre*; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, usually prefixed to *Quintus Curtius*, with the admirable maps of *Danville*.

<sup>61</sup> In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. Curtius, l. vii. c. vii. Alexander was not present in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the king struck with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or lesser bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. sub fin.



over Barbarian craft, and desultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians<sup>62</sup> on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown; and the exigency of his affairs soon recalled him from an inhospitable desert.

The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to submission. The Barbarians fighting singly were successively subdued; their bravest troops were gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades, commanded by Hephaestion,

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

Alexander finally reduces the provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A.C. 327.

<sup>62</sup> Before Alexander passed the Jaxartes, he received an embassy probably from the *Abyan* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preserved in Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. It is remarkable for the bold elevated style, in which these Barbarians display their own advantages, and describe the destructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Gargacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing sentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," say the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, lest in climbing to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have seized. Grasp Fortune with both your hands; she is slippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only and wings. Those to whom she stretches out her hand, she allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may more easily manage it. Our poverty will be swifter than your army loaded with spoil. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and desire not to command." The figurative style of the Scythians is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principii

CHAP. phæstion, Ptolemy, Perdikkas, Cænus<sup>63</sup>, and him-  
 XXXVIII. self. Near Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cænus  
 attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians  
 and Bactrians deserted their unfortunate general,  
 and surrendered their arms to the conqueror.  
 The Massagetæ and other Scythians, having plun-  
 dered the camp of their allies, fled with Spita-  
 menes to the desert; but being apprised, that the  
 Macedonians prepared to pursue them, they slew  
 this active and daring chief, whose courage de-  
 served a better fate; and, in hopes of making  
 their own peace, sent his head to the con-  
 queror.

Siege of  
 the Sog-  
 dian for-  
 tress;  
 Olymp.  
 cxiii. 2.  
 A.C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly  
 resisted Alexander in the open country; but in  
 the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacene, two  
 important fortresses, long deemed impregnable,  
 still bade defiance to the invader. Into the for-  
 mer, Oxyartes, the Bactrian, who headed the  
*rebellion* (for so the Macedonians termed the brave  
 defence of the Bactrians) had placed his wife and  
 children. The rock was steep, rugged, almost  
 inaccessible, and provided with corn for a long  
 siege. The deep snow, by which it was sur-  
 rounded, increased the difficulty of assaulting it,  
 and supplied the garrison with water. Alexander  
 having summoned the Bactrians to surrender,  
 was asked in derision, Whether he had furnished  
 himself with winged soldiers? This insolence  
 piqued

Principii di Scienza nuova, vol. i. p. 156, & seqq. See like-  
 wise Chapters fifth and sixth of the present History. Le Clerc,  
 therefore, speaks with equal ignorance and severity, when,  
 in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "Scythæ ipsi,  
 omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamistio inusti, in me-  
 dium prodeunt." Judic. Curt. p. 326.

<sup>63</sup> Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and after-  
 wards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command  
 with Cænus. Arrian.

piqued his pride; and he determined to make  
 himself master of the place, with whatever diffi-  
 culties and dangers his undertaking might be at-  
 tended. This resolution was consonant to his  
 character. His success in arms, owing to the re-  
 sources of his active and comprehensive mind,  
 sometimes encouraged him to enterprises, neither  
 justified by necessity, nor warranted by prudence.  
 Fond of war, not only as an instrument of ambi-  
 tion, but as an art in which he gloried to excel,  
 he began to regard the means as more valuable  
 than the end, and sacrificed the lives of his men  
 to military experiments, alike hazardous and  
 useless: Yet, on the present occasion, sound po-  
 licy seems to have directed his measures. Hav-  
 ing determined soon to depart from those provin-  
 ces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an ene-  
 my behind: it might seem necessary to destroy  
 the seeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits  
 unexampled and almost incredible, to impress  
 such terror of his name, as would astonish and  
 overawe his most distant and warlike dependen-  
 cies.

CHAP.  
 XXXVIII.

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian for-  
 tress, and proposed a reward of twelve talents <sup>64</sup> to the man who should first mount the top of the  
 rock on which it was situated. The second and  
 third were to be proportionably rewarded, and  
 even the last of ten was to be gratified with the  
 sum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this  
 recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks  
 and Macedonians, was equally honourable and  
 lucrative, stimulated the love of adventure, so  
 conspicuous in both nations. Three hundred  
 men,

which is  
 taken by  
 a contri-  
 vance e-  
 qually in-  
 genious  
 and da-  
 ring.

<sup>64</sup> Above £.2000, equal in value to near £.20,000 in the  
 present age.



CHAP. men, carefully selected from the whole army,  
 XXXVIII. were furnished with ropes made of the strongest  
 flax, and with iron pins used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with small pieces of linen, which being joined together, might serve as a signal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of the evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprise, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this simple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the summit of the rock which overlooked the fortress; and waving their signal in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous sight, he summoned the besieged to surrender to his winged soldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and represented them as completely armed; Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress<sup>65</sup>.

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obscure and even nameless castle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-

<sup>65</sup> Arian, p. 91, & seqq.

self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his con-  
 descending affection raised her to the throne, choo-  
 sing rather to offend the prejudices of the Ma-  
 cedonians, than to transgress the laws of huma-  
 nity<sup>66</sup>.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Paræ-  
 tacæ were in arms, and that many of his most  
 dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the  
 fortress or rock of Choriènes. Upon this intelli-  
 gence, he hastened to the Parætacæne. The  
 height of the rock, which was every where steep  
 and craggy, he found to be near three miles, and  
 its circumference above seven. It was surrounded  
 by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from  
 the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach  
 of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that  
 the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which sur-  
 rounded the mountain, should be cut down, and  
 formed into ladders, by means of which, his men  
 descending the ditch, drove huge piles into the  
 bottom. These, being placed at proper distances,  
 were covered with hurdles of osier consolidated  
 with earth. In this occupation his whole army  
 were employed by turns, night and day. The  
 Barbarians at first derided this seemingly useless  
 labour. But their insults were soon answered by  
 Macedonian arrows. By these, and other missile  
 weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully  
 protected by their coverings, so much annoyed  
 the besieged, that the latter became desirous to  
 capitulate. For this purpose, Choriènes, from  
 whom the place derived its name, desired to con-  
 verse with Oxyartes, the Bactrian, who, since the  
 taking of his wife and children, had submitted to  
 Alexander.

The for-  
 tress of  
 Chorie-  
 nes sur-  
 renders.  
 Olymp.  
 cxiii. 2.  
 A.C. 327.

<sup>66</sup> Arrian, p. 91. & seqq.

CHAP. XXXVIII. Alexander. His request being granted, Oxyartes strongly exhorted him to surrender his fortrefs and himself, assuring him of Alexander's goodness, of which his own treatment furnished an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to such troops and such a general. Chori- enes prudently followed this advice; and by his speedy submission, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendship of Alexander, who again entrusted him with the command of his fortrefs, and the government of his province. The vast magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætacæ for a long siege, afforded a seasonable supply to the Macedonian army, especially during the severity of winter, in a country covered with snow many feet deep<sup>67</sup>.

The vir-  
tues dis-  
played by  
Alexander  
in making  
and regu-  
lating his  
conquests.

By such mémorable atchievements, Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which supply the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous war, the great abilities of the general were conspicuously distinguished. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity: his courage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have passed for temerity. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges;

<sup>67</sup> Arrian, p. 92.



privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects<sup>68</sup>. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the discernment of this extraordinary man, not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary preparations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon, which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnesus, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
Commo-  
tions in  
Greece  
checked  
by Anti-  
pater.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 3.  
A. C. 330.

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F f

peninsula

<sup>68</sup> Plutarch. Arrian, & Curtius, passim.

CHAP. peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the  
 XXXVIII. confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to  
 king Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian  
 troops. The vanquished were allowed to send  
 ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander.  
 From that generous prince, the rebellious  
 republics received promise of pardon, on con-  
 dition that they punished with due severity  
 the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged  
 revolt<sup>69</sup>.

Tranquil-  
 lity of that  
 country  
 during the  
 subse-  
 quent  
 years of  
 Alexander's reign

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual degree of tranquillity and happiness. The suspicious and severe temper of Antipater was restrained by the commands of his master, who, provided the several republics sent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of submission. Under the protection of this indulgent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests they were associated, the Greeks still preserved the forms, and displayed the image of that free constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

Ctesiphon  
 accused  
 by Æschines,  
 and de-  
 fended by  
 Demosthenes.  
 Olymp.  
 cxii. 3.  
 A.C. 330.

While Alexander pursued the Murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold that intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalry in power and fame had long divided the affections of their countrymen. In consequence of a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, Demosthenes, as above-mentioned, had been honoured with a golden crown, as the reward

<sup>69</sup> Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. i.

ward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violater of the laws of his country. 1. Because he had decreed public honours to a man actually entrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because he had advised, that the crown conferred on Demosthenes, should be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a crown, he ought to be punished as a traitor. Various circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, prevented this important cause from being heard by the Athenians, till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magnanimous son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctesiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument, combined with the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions<sup>70</sup>, by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his audience, when, to justify his advising the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred: No! I swear it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the same cause at Marathon and Plataea." What

F f 2

sublime

<sup>70</sup> See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.



CHAP. sublime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at this extraordinary sentiment, which in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was surrounded, would appear altogether excessive and gigantic.

Generosity of Demosthenes.

The orator not only justified Ctesiphon and himself, but procured the banishment of his adversary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accusation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more solid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before Æschines set sail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generosity which made the banished man feel severely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, "How deeply must I regret the loss of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elsewhere!" Æschines retired to the isle of Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the answer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himself!"

His death.  
Olymp.  
cxiv. 3.  
A. C. 322.

Demosthenes survived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more suspicious policy of Antipater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassins to the

the little island Calauria, he ended his life by  
poison <sup>71</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Persian empire would have little leisure, or inclination, to attend to a personal dispute between two Athenian orators; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be considered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the successful, opponent of the greatness of his family; and in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconsolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honours of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed he heard with total unconcern the sentence of the Athenian people; a sentence which reversed the decision of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never resented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and security which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

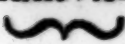
The sentence of the Athenians in favour of Demosthenes, honourable to the moderation of Alexander.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but also delivered from the cares, of independent sovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dissensions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propensity to the social embellishments of life; a propensity by which they were honourably distinguished above all other nations

State of Greece during the latter years of the reign of Alexander.

of

<sup>71</sup> Plut. in Demosthen. & Lucian. Demosthen. Encom.

CHAP. of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals,  
XXXVIII. and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with  
 more pomp than at any former period. The  
schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardour and success. Many improvements were made in the sciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their ancestors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotism and true valour were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an association with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boasted trophies of Marathon and Plataea. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace, coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of his nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.



## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Alexander's Indian Expedition.—Route pursued by the Army.—Aornos taken.—Nysa and Mount Meros.—Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes.—Defeats Porus.—Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia.—Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes.—Sangala taken.—Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests.—He sails down the Hydaspes.—Takes the Mallian Fortrefs.—His March through the Gedrosian Desert.—Voyage of Nearchus.—Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests.—Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.—Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics.—Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon.—His Death, and Character.—Division of his Conquests.—Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria.—The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans.—State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.*

BY just views of policy, rather than the madness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilised provinces of Asia. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror would not have securely enjoyed the splendour of Susa and Babylon; nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could

C H A P.  
XXXIX.

Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition.  
Olymp. cxiii. 2.  
A.C. 327.

CHAP. could he have prudently undertaken his Indian  
 XXXIX. expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring ; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

Traverses  
 the Paropamisus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded<sup>1</sup> with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bukaria, is far more elevated than any other portion of the Eastern continent ; and the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravages of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have, perhaps, been rather exaggerated than described, by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful<sup>2</sup> expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, " Those mountains are covered with ice ; the cold which I suffered was extreme ; the country

<sup>1</sup> The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, l. vii. c. iii.

country presents a melancholy image of death and horror<sup>2</sup>." CHAP.  
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But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to struggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage<sup>4</sup>; and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts.

The experienced leader seems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdikkas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing that river. After many severe conflicts, he subdued the Aspij, Thyræi, Arasaci, and Affaceni; scoured the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their fastnesses; and drove them towards the northern mountains, which supply the sources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri, still defied his assaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the

<sup>2</sup> See "le Voyage du Pere Desideri." It was performed in the year 1715. *Lettres Edifiantes*, xv. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, p. 97. & seqq.



CHAP. the most warlike of their neighbours, after  
 XXXIX. their other strong-holds had surrendered. From  
 its description, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where lowest; accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful spring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a sufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thousand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himself master of a place, which fable described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of antiquity<sup>3</sup>. By the voluntary assistance and direction of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the Baziri, Ptolemy ascended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander with his usual diligence raised a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the resources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to spin out the negotiation during the whole day, and in the night to effect their escape. Alexander, who suspected this intention, met their art with similar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians descended the mountain, he took possession of the strong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, p. 98, who supplies the particulars in the text, says, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid siege unsuccessfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occasion, as on many others, “*ὡς κομπήν τε λόγῳ*,” “as an ostentatious fiction.”

detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

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The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile district, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nyfa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony established by Bacchus at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nyfa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian soil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preserved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered with sweat and dust, and still armed with his casque and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The king having raised them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condescension, they recovered sufficient boldness to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties for the sake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they insisted on the name Nyfa, derived from the nurse \* of Bacchus, and on the abundance not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew

\* The respect shewn by the Greeks to their nurses is well known, and is attested by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks still imitate their ancestors. The word employed to signify a nurse, properly denotes "a second mother." See Mr. Guy's *Voyage Littéraire de la Grèce*.

CHAP. grew in their territory, and in no other part of  
 XXXIX. India. Alexander willing to admit a pretension,  
 which might attest to succeeding ages that he had  
 carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus<sup>7</sup>,  
 readily

<sup>7</sup> Eratosthenes the Cyrenean, and many other ancient writers, asserted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the East, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo justly observes, that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the son of Philip. To justify this observation, he cites the verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, saying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιωνί δὲ Λυδοὶ τὰς πολυχρύσας γούνας  
 Φρυγίᾳ τε Περσὶν θ' ἱλιόβληται; πλακας,  
 Βακτροῖα τε τείχε' αἰεὶ περὶ δυσχεύουσι χθονας  
 Μήδων, ἐπιλθὼν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαιμόνεια  
 Ἀσίαν τε πάσαι, ἣ παρ' ἁλμυρῶν ἁλῶν,  
 Κιτταί, μυγασὶν Ἑλλήσι Βαρβαροῖς θ' ὅμιον  
 Πληθύνει χυσοῖα καλλιπυργωτὺς πόλεις.

" Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the sun-beat plains of Phrygia and Persia, the Bactrian fortresses, and the wintry storms of the Medes—having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Asia, crowned with fair-turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyssa in particular. *Βροτοῖσι κλεινὴ Νύσσα*. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds, 1. Because the relations of authors on this subject are totally inconsistent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether silent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, possess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosopher and historian discovers his sentiments to be the same with Strabo's, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, " οὐκ ἀκριβὴς ἐξέτασθαι χρὴ πρὸς τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ παλαιῶν, μνησθῆναι;" " that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully sifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyse, the Grecian mythology.



readily granted their request. Having understood CHAP.  
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that Nyia was governed by an aristocracy, he demanded, as hostages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who headed the embassy. Alexander asked him, "At what he smiled?" He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen, and more, should you think proper. But can you believe it possible that any city should long continue safe, after losing an hundred of its most virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the best, should you be contented with two hundred of the worst, men in Nyfa, be assured that, at your return, you will find this country in as flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased with his address, Alexander remitted his demand of the magistrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the son and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under such an accomplished general.

The transactions which we have described, and a march of sixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdicas to make the preparations necessary for passing the latter river, most probably by a bridge of boats.<sup>\*</sup> Alexander passes  
the Indus,  
and receives the  
submission of  
Taxiles.  
On

<sup>\*</sup> Arrian, p. 100 & 103, leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was constructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander, ascertain the pass of the Indus, at which the Macedonians crossed that river. Major Rennel, late surveyor-general of Bengal, has the following observations in his excellent memoir on the map of Hindostan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now stands; as it appears to have been in all ages the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India. . . . Attock must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander.

From

CHAP. On the eastern bank, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these  
 XXXIX. Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought, besides other valuable presents, the assistance of seven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes. But the king, who never allowed himself to be outdone in generosity, restored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

Prepares  
 to pass  
 the Hy-  
 daspes,  
 notwith-  
 standing  
 the oppo-  
 sition of  
 Porus.

The army crossed the Indus about the time of the summer solstice, at which reason the Indian rivers are swelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted snow, which descends in torrents from Paropamisus. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaspes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his son commanded a detachment, consisting of the same kind of forces; which were all well accounted, and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of passing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable host; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favourable season. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his post.

The

From thence, as his intention seems to have been to penetrate by the shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behat) where the fortress of Rotas now stands; and here he put in execution his stratagem for crossing the river, whilst the opposite shore was possessed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

The king next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having post his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raise in the night loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants wherever the danger threatened. This scene was repeated several successive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and harassed by perpetual arms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noise, but merely to disturb his repose, at length desisted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank <sup>9</sup>.

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The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long meditated purpose. At the distance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there stood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an island, likewise overrun with wood, and uninhabited. Such objects were favourable for concealment: they immediately suggested to Alexander the design of passing the river with a strong detachment, which he resolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform; and amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamisus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly during day-time to cross the

Disposi-  
tions for  
that pur-  
pose.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian, l. v. p. 107, & seqq.



CHAP. the Hydaspes. While these operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander having collected  
 XXXIX. hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian<sup>10</sup> cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well assorted brigade, adapted to every mode of war required by the nature of the ground, the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and island; and in this secure post, prepared to embark, after taking such precautions against the vicissitudes of war and fortune, as could be suggested only by the most profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were precise: should the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the passage to the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten over with his cavalry; otherwise not to stir from his post, until he observed Porus advancing against Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal distance between the bank, where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, chiefly consisting of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into the pay of the conqueror. To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels were placed along the bank, at convenient distances to observe and repeat signals.

The passage effected.

Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation; the clash of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder.

<sup>10</sup> Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were *ἰπποτοξοται*, "archers on horseback." Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

der. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Lysimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irresistible diffusion of their master's glory.

The king first reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which they landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering, that should Porus offer battle, these forces would resist till joined by the heavy infantry; but should the Indians be struck with a panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus arrive in time to attack and pursue them with advantage.

Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus's son detached his son to oppose the landing of the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain;

Porus's  
son de-  
feated and  
slain.

CHAP. most of the chariots were taken ; the slime of the  
 XXXIX. river, which rendered them unserviceable in the  
 action, likewise interrupting their flight.

Dispositi-  
 ons made  
 by Porus  
 for resist-  
 ing the  
 enemy.

The sad news of this discomfeiture deeply afflicted Porus ; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared to pass the river, and attack him in front ; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated assault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten rather than resist, Craterus's cavalry ; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of the enemy, commanded by their king. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thousand ; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. With these forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain sufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet ; in these intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, since their horse, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants ; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they must be themselves exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by those terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Alexander



Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort and equestrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops should join. This being effected, he allowed them time to rest and recover strength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the disposition of the Indians. Upon observing their order of battle, he immediately determined, not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once resolved on an operation, which, with such troops as those whom he commanded, could scarcely fail to prove decisive. By intricate and skilful manœuvres, altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, stretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in their posts, waiting the event of this complicated assault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise observance of time and distance.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian archers, and exposed to the danger of being surrounded, were obliged to form into two divisions of which one prepared to resist Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution so much disordered their ranks, and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to stand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which

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XXXIX.

Skilful  
manœuvres of the  
Macedonian army.

The battle of the Hydaspes.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

surpassed them as much in strength, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no sooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the assailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous to resist them with a close and deep phalanx. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost intirely surrounded, by the Macedonian horse; at the same time that the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow space, and furious, through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury<sup>11</sup>.

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the division, under Craterus, passed the river. But the arrival of these fresh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved less formidable in reality than appearance, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that

<sup>11</sup> Arrian, p. 112.

that conqueror<sup>12</sup>. With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valour and resistance of his enemies ; but in computing the numbers of the slain, they become averse to allow this valour and resistance to have produced any adequate effects.

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XXXIX.

The Indian king having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the last to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entrusted with the care of seizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who was his antient and inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendship. By the entreaties of Meroe, the high-minded prince, spent with thirst and fatigue, was finally persuaded to surrender ; and being refreshed with drink and repose, was conducted to the presence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his stature (for he was above seven feet high) and the majesty of his person ; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked what he could oblige him ? Porus answered, By acting like a king. " That," said Alexander with a smile, " I should do for my own sake, but what can I do for yours ?" Porus replied, " All my wishes are contained in that one request<sup>13</sup>."

Courage  
and mag-  
nanimity  
of Porus.

Reward-  
ed by  
Alexan-  
der.

None

<sup>12</sup> See Arrian, p. 113. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, but rather to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom he derived his materials ; nor could it be expected that those generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

<sup>13</sup> The modern histories of Alexander universally misrepresent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus say, " that he desires to be treated like a king : " an



None ever admired virtue more than Alexander. Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glaucæ, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, the least of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediate after the battle, he interred the slain, performed the accustomed sacrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia; the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it stood; the latter, situate on the opposite bank, was named in honour of his horse Bucephalus<sup>24</sup>, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify these new cities.

Founda-  
tion of  
Nicæa and  
Buce-  
phalia.

In promoting the success of Alexander, the fame of his generosity conspired with the power of his arms. Without encountering any memorable

explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, *Τὸτο μὲν ἔσται σοι Πόρος ἡμῶν ἡνίκ᾽ σὺ δι' αὐτοῦ ἴκηαι ὃ, τί σοι φίλον ἄξιον;* "I will act towards you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you desire that I should do on yours?"

<sup>24</sup> This generous animal, who had so long shared the toils and dangers of his master, had formerly received signal marks of royal regard. Having disappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander issued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and sword. This command was immediately obeyed, "So dear," says Arrian, "was Bucephalus to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian.

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 rable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conquest, the obstacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Acesines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks, which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable, and still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to pass in boats, many drove against the rocks, and perished; but such as employed hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The Hydraotes is of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eastern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to resist his progress. They had encamped on the side of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians stirred not from their post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for such an attack, immediately dismounted, and conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakest; some passages were opened; the Macedonians rushed in; and the Indians, being successively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invested. On one side, the town was besieged and taken.

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was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be surrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with success. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then invested the greatest part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by some deserters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the spot where he sagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first sound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the assistance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger. By this judicious disposition, the enemy were successfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the scaling ladders were fixed; several breaches were made; and the town was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand Indians are said to have perished in the sack of Sangala; above seventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was razed; its confederates submitted or fled.



fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the siege or assault; twelve hundred were wounded.

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The persevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him master of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus<sup>15</sup>. The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which he actually intended to cross, allured by the flattering description of the adjoining territory, were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country. These monuments, erected midway between Delhi and Lahor<sup>16</sup>, marked

Eastern  
boundary  
of Alex-  
ander's  
conquests.

<sup>15</sup> The annals of the Gentoos distinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Kooneah, "the great robber and assassin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowess. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their ascribing to his taste and magnificence, the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & seqq. M. Anquetil Zend-Avesta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his excellent Memoir on the New Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not so high up the river. "After crossing," says he, "the Acesines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now stands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moulton. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphasis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumstance of the deserts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a desert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir.

CHAP. marked the extremity of Alexander's empire ; an  
 XXXIX. empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the  
 country, or the opposition of enemies, but by the  
 immoveable and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander submitted to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his

nir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-six Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional scale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty such miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after ; I mean his recrossing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acesines, in a low situation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains ; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub and Rauvee are really through a low country ; and these are also the parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I suppose, Alexander's altars were erected." It is rather unfortunate for this ingenious conjecture, that the desert on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found only in the inaccurate compilation of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612. (whose narrative of Alexander's expedition is as much inferior to Arrian's, as his imperfect and inconsistent account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand, is inferior to the admired Anabasis of Xenophon), and in the romantic description of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The existence of such a desert, at the extremity of Alexander's conquests, is contradicted by the circumstantial and satisfactory narrative of Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who says, " that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave ; governed by a moderate aristocracy, flourishing in peace and plenty ; possessing a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and stature."

his trophies in the East. But his restless curiosity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the sake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Craterus and Hephestion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, above two thousand vessels<sup>17</sup>, for sailing down the Hydaspes, till its junction

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Alexander sails down the Hydaspes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxiii 3. A.C. 326.

<sup>17</sup> "It may appear extraordinary," says Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the gulph of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are sometimes used in the Ganges; and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of vessels, he says, *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποταμῶν, ἢ τῶν παλαιῶν πλεούτων κατὰ τὰς ποταμῶν, ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων*, p. 124. The vessels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, 1. Long ships, for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships



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tion with the Indus, and thence along that majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet, the king embarked in person with the third division of his forces. His navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were successively besieged and taken; but, at the storm of their capital, a scene was transacted, which would have indicated madness in any other general, and which betrayed temerity even in Alexander.

Extraordinary adventure in besieging the Mallian fortrefs.

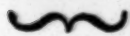
When their streets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconsiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians, commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with all possible expedition. But this service being performed more tardily than usual, the king, in his anger, snatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with

ships, for carrying provisions, baggage, &c; and, 3. *ἰππογαλακταῖα*, vessels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ships of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and islanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124 & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconsistent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Justin, l. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each side the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Enodus.

with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. C H A P.  
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 The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the summit; the same accident happened to other ladders which were hastily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For some moments, the king thus remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his arms and the extravagance<sup>18</sup> of his valour, exposed to thick volleys of hostile darts from the adjacent towers. His resolution was more than daring. At one bound, he sprang into the place, and posting himself at the wall, slew the chief of the Malli and three others who ventured to assault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peucestas, the only Macedonians who had got safe to the top of the wall, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions regardless of their own safety, defended the king, whose breast had been pierced with an arrow. They were soon covered with wounds, and Alexander seemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burst through the gates of the place. Their first concern was to carry off the king; the second to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued forth with his blood. Some report that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos, others, that no surgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his sword, by his master's command. The great effusion of blood threatened his immediate dissolution; but a seasonable swooning retarded the circulation of the fluids, stopped the discharge  
 of

<sup>18</sup> Τὸ ἀτὼν τῆς τοῦ αἵματος; literally, "the absurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit such an expression; ἀτὼν properly signifies, "what has no place in nature." It is commonly translated *absurd*, but may here mean *supernatural*.

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of blood, and saved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their gloomy sadness during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery<sup>19</sup>.

Marches  
through  
the Ge-  
drofian  
desert.  
Olymp.  
cxiii. 4.  
A.C. 325.

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Persepolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosia. This arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus<sup>20</sup>, whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the

Voyage of  
Nearchus.

<sup>19</sup> The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is said, by Curtius, l. ix. c. iv. to have happened in storming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities, compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127, & seqq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

<sup>20</sup> Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Seven months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and others: but its authenticity is confirmed by the incomparable D'Anville. See Recherch. Geog. sur le Golfe Persique, Acad. des Inscr. t. xxx. p. 133.



the king, both were taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier <sup>21</sup>; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

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In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrataphernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and other beasts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by disease, and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this destructive expedition <sup>22</sup>, was repaired by the arrival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various divisions of his army.

<sup>21</sup> Parties were continually employed, on all sides, in searching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the sun was excessive and reflected by the scorching sand: Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances, some soldiers discovering a small quantity of turbid water, brought it in great haste to the king. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

<sup>22</sup> Plutarch says, that the march through Gedrosia cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, since he supposes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrosian deserts.

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He punishes the misconduct of his generals.

rendered the standard of Alexander sufficiently respectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the Medes of despoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other detestable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own soldiers confirmed the accusation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction, and served as a salutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practised by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and consolidate his empire, than his vigilance to restrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppression <sup>23</sup>.

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is said to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and allowing the utmost extravagance of disorder and folly to himself and his followers <sup>24</sup>. The revel continued seven days, during which a small body of sober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of Darius and of Asia <sup>25</sup>. Were not the

<sup>23</sup> Καὶ τὸτο, οὐκ ἐστὶν τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ εὖθι τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφάτων, ἢ ἰκόντα προσχωρησάντα. τούτων μὲν πλεονεκτήματα, τοσούτοι δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφειρημένα· ὅτι οὐκ ἐξήν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλείᾳ ἀδυνατῆσαι τῇ ἀρχομένῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143.

" This, especially, kept in awe the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed."

<sup>24</sup> Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

<sup>25</sup> Curtius, l. ix. c. x.

this improbable fiction discountenanced by the silence of contemporary writers<sup>26</sup>, it would be refuted by its own absurdity. Instead of yielding to the transports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was extremely susceptible of compassion, must have been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of so many brave men; nor did the necessity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admit of unseasonable delay.

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Encouraged by the long absence of their master, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually exposed his life, Harpalus, Orsines and Abulites, who were respectively governors of Babylon, Persopolis, and Susa, began to despise his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable ministers. In such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entrusted to Hephæstion, with orders to proceed along the sea-coast, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the king hastened to Pasargadæ. Orsines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were punished with as enormous severity<sup>27</sup>. Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed the royal tiara, suffered death; his numerous adherents shared the same fate. The return of Alexander from the East proved fatal to Abulites, and his son Oxathres, who, during the absence of their master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital.

Punishment of the governors of Babylon, Persopolis, and Susa.

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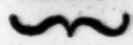
tal.

<sup>26</sup> Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> Arrian, who excuses Alexander's adopting the Persian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.



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Peucestas  
reward-  
ed.

tal. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had been no less flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes seems himself to have been soon afterwards treacherously slain<sup>28</sup>. The brave Peucestas, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault of the Millian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command, he proved his wisdom to be equal to his valour. By conforming to the customs, adopting the manners, and using the language of the vanished, he acquired the affectionate respect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condescension, directed by sound policy, was highly approved by the discernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander improves the internal state of his conquests.  
Olymp.  
cxiii. 4.  
A.C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the seat of Asiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander spent the last, and not

<sup>28</sup> Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. ii. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor. l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendship of his illustrious son, who, soon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treasurer. But, before the battle of Issus, this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara. Alexander, unwilling hastily to condemn an old friend, who had for his sake incurred the resentment of Philip, ascribed the misconduct of Harpalus to the bad counsels of Tauriscus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriscus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his service, and again entrusted him with the custody of his treasures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was silent in his presence; and his only remaining care was to improve and consolidate his conquests. For these important purposes, he carefully examined the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his troops was judiciously employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Assyrian and Persian kings had obstructed the navigation of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no reason to dread fleets of war, wished to invite those of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arsenals were constructed; a basin was formed at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand galleys. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with the most remote regions of the earth. His ships were sent to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs. Archias brought him such accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its shores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in examining the Arabian coast; but he found it impossible to double the southern extremity of that immense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis, in Egypt. This daring enterprise seemed to be reserved for the king in person. It is certain, that, shortly before his death, he took measures for examining this great southern gulph, as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian Sea, which was then believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean <sup>29</sup>.

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Sends  
vessels to  
explore  
the Per-  
sian and  
Arabian  
gulphs.

H h 2

But

<sup>29</sup> Arrian, vii. p. 158.

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Refrains  
the inun-  
dations of  
the Eu-  
phrates.

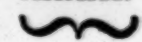
But objects, less remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter season, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Assyria<sup>30</sup>, are confined within their lofty channel. But in spring and summer, and especially towards the summer solstice, they overflow their banks, and, instead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unless the superfluous fluid were discharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by springs, nor replenished from mountain snows, but branching from the great trunk of the Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the sea, through lakes and marshes, by various, and, for the most part, invisible outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the season when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian snows. This diminution of the river rendered it insufficient to water the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience severely felt in a country almost unacquainted with rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unsuccessfully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he sailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance

<sup>30</sup> "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is said three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.



distance of about four miles from the inosculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this essential service to Assyria, he followed the course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with those superannuated Greeks, who seemed no longer capable of military service, and with such others of their countrymen as thought proper to settle in this fertile, though remote country <sup>31</sup>.

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Builds a  
city near  
the canal  
of Palla-  
copas.

Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. These places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with signal marks of his taste, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened views of policy. The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, such of the Barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had

Incorpo-  
rates the  
Barbarian  
levies  
with the  
Greeks  
and Ma-  
cedoni-  
ans.

<sup>31</sup> Arrian, ubi supra.

**C H A P.** had given orders to raise new levies in the con-  
**XXXIX.** quered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted  
 in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and re-  
 joiced at being associated to the glory of their  
 victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander  
 was joined by a powerful body of those recruits,  
 whose improvements in arts and arms fully  
 answered his expectations, and justly rewarded  
 his foresight. The arrival of such numerous  
 auxiliaries enabled him to discharge at Opis, a  
 city on the Tigris, such Greeks and Macedonians  
 as were tired of the service, worn out with age, or  
 enfeebled by sickness. After an interesting scene,  
 which we shall have occasion to describe, he  
 dismissed those respectable veterans, loaded with  
 wealth and honours. They were conducted by  
 Craterus, whom he appointed to succeed Anti-  
 pater in the administration of his European domi-  
 nions; and Antipater, who had long executed  
 that important trust, with equal prudence and  
 fidelity, was commanded to join his master with  
 new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon<sup>32</sup>.

Pays the  
 debts of  
 his sol-  
 diers.

At Susa, Alexander learned that his soldiers,  
 indulging the extravagance too natural to their  
 profession, had contracted immense debts, which  
 they had neither ability nor inclination to pay.  
 Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each  
 man should give an exact account of what he  
 owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring,  
 that he was determined to satisfy them at his  
 own expence. The troops suspected an inten-  
 tion, merely to discover their characters, and to  
 learn their œconomy or profusion. At first, there-  
 fore,

<sup>32</sup> Arrian, ubi supra.

fore, many denied, and all diminished, their debts. CHAP. XXXIX.  
But Alexander issued a second declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the whole debts discharged, to the amount, it is said, of four millions sterling.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of a different kind, which discovers, however, the same spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Asiatic subjects. In the royal palace of Susa, he publicly espoused Barciné<sup>31</sup>, the daughter of Darius; and bestowed her sister Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, Perdicas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names, presented to the king, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women<sup>32</sup>.

Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics.

In all the cities, which he visited, he was careful to celebrate the musical and gymnastic games; those

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. CXIV. 1. A. C. 324.

<sup>31</sup> Called Statira by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, exclaims, *Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης, καὶ αἰοῦντι, καὶ ματὴν πολλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλησποντίας ποταμὸς γέφυραν, ὅτως ἐμφρονεῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀσίαν ἑνωτὴ συνάπτουσιν, οὐ ξύλοις, οὐδὲ σχιδαῖς, οὐδὲ ἀνυχτοῖς καὶ ἀσυνπαθεῖσι δισμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κοίμῳ, καὶ γάμοις συμφροῖς, καὶ κοινωτικαῖς παιδῶν τὰ γένε συνάπτουσι.* "O! barbarous and foolish Xerxes, thou who labouredst in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, it is thus that wise kings join Asia to Europe, not by boards, ships, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewise above, vol. i. c. ix.



CHAP. those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which  
 XXXIX. being adapted to gratify the senses, as well as to  
 please the fancy, were beheld with delight even  
 by the most ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that  
 nothing has a more direct tendency, to unite and  
 harmonise the minds and manners of men, than  
 public entertainments and common pleasures,  
 Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse  
 the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose  
 above three thousand players and musicians, col-  
 lected from all parts of Greece, assembled in Ec-  
 batana, the capital of Media, which was chosen  
 for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions<sup>33</sup>. But  
 the sickness, and death of Hephæstion, changed  
 this magnificent spectacle, into melancholy obse-  
 quies. In the moment of his triumph, the king  
 was deprived of his dearest friend<sup>34</sup>. This irre-  
 parable loss, he felt and expressed with an affecti-  
 onate ardour congenial to his character, and justi-  
 fied his immediate sorrow by the inconsolable<sup>35</sup>  
 grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Patro-  
 clus. During three days and nights after the death  
 of

<sup>33</sup> It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were soon diffused through other parts of Asia. *Αλεξάνδρου τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξημερευτός. Ὅμηρος ἢ ἀναγινώσκοντα, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Συσσιανῶν καὶ Γεδρόσιων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγῳδίας ᾤοντο.* "Alexander, having tamed Asia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Persians Susians, and Gedrosi, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's confidence; yet he often said, "Craterus loves the king, Hephæstion loves Alexander." Plutarch in *Alexand.* In passing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. *Ælian, Var. Hist. xii. 7.*

<sup>35</sup> If, in the melancholy shades below,  
 The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,  
 Yet mine shall sacred last; and, undecay'd,  
 Burn on through death, and animate my shade.  
 Pope's *Iliad.*

of Hephæstion, Alexander neither changed his apparel, nor tasted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæstion<sup>36</sup>; and the lofty genius of Stasicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy of *him*, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deserving of *heroic* worship. To appease the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's secretary, who, shortly before Hephæstion's death, had offended this illustrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercised power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favour, and whose virtues disarmed envy<sup>37</sup>.

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His obsequies and honours.

To moderate and divert his sorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once business and

Alexander reduces and chastises the Cossæans.

<sup>36</sup> According to Plutarch, Stasicrates proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489, ascribe this design to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, Εἰ δὲ μνην τῶν Αἰθῶν καταχρησάμενος ἄρκει γὰρ ἑνὸς βασιλέως ἐνδοξασάντος εἶναι μνημῖον. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix.

<sup>37</sup> Arrian, p. 156, tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæstion, innumerable and absurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the same falsehoods were sometimes authorized by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.

CHAP. XXXIX. and amusement, undertook an expedition in person, which perhaps would otherwise have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Cossæans, a fierce and untractable nation, inhabited the southern frontier of Media. Secure amidst their rocks and fastnesses, they had ever defied the arms of the Persians; and the degenerate successors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchase their friendship than to repel their hostility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of these magnificent but pusillanimous princes condescended to bestow presents on the Cossæans, that they might procure an undisturbed passage for themselves and their train; and this impolitic meanness only increased the audacity of the mountaineers, who often ravaged the Susian plains, and often retired to their fastnesses, loaded with the richest spoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of such indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally subdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Cossæans were driven from their last retreats, and compelled to surrender their territory. After obtaining sufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ransom their prisoners, and at his departure from their country, took care to erect such fortresses as seemed necessary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headstrong people<sup>38</sup>.

Glory of  
Alexander.

In

<sup>38</sup> Such is the account of this expedition given by Arrian, l. vii. p. 157.; and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, most unwarrantably and absurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amusement of *man-hunting*, and massacred the whole Cossæan nation, without distinction of age or sex. Plut. p. 94.



In returning from this successful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Asia and Africa, extending from mount Imaus to the southern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, says his historian, that he appeared master of the world, both to his followers, and to himself; and, as if the known parts of it had been insufficient to satisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian forest, with a design to build ships, and explore the undiscovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas. But neither these lofty designs, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greatest splendour<sup>39</sup>, could appease his grief for the loss of Hephæstion. The death of his beloved friend is said, by Arrian, to have hastened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him susceptible of such impressions as the firmness of his manly

<sup>39</sup> Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which supported it were incrusted with gold; that he gave audience, surrounded with guards, and seated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the master of both continents" found it necessary to unite the pomp of the East with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious essences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we discover the credulous, or rather criminal sophist, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which disgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted assertions of the obscure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppose the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who so severely censured the effeminate and luxurious life of Agnon and Philotas, be himself effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," says Arrian, "Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleasures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167.

CHAP. manly soul would otherwise have resisted and re-  
XXXIX. pelled.

Artifices  
to prevent  
his return  
to Baby-  
lon.

He, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miserable passion. The servants of princes, ever quick in discerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit the foibles of their masters, soon discovered and abused the weakness of Alexander. Alarmed at the severe treatment of several of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, practised with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatness of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine displeasure against the king, should he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Cossæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan priests, who conjured him to change his resolution, because they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The interest of the Chaldæans conspired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a stupendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Assyrian kings. But the produce of the consecrated ground, instead of being applied to its original destination of repairing the temple, and offering sacrifices to the Gods, had, ever since the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan priests. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priests, he discerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best prophet that  
that

that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldæans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least not to enter it on the eastern side, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rising sun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

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During his short stay at Babylon, his mind was disturbed by superstitious fears <sup>40</sup>, awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well fitted to operate on a disordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had conversed with the Gymnosophists, or Brachmans, men who practised the philosophy which Plato taught, and whose contempt for the pomp, and pleasures, of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better, and more permanent state of existence. To those sages, the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of derision or pity. At sight of the conqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the world, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for insulting the son of Jupiter; who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by saying, "that all were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only

His short  
stay in  
that city  
disturbed  
by super-  
stitious  
fears.  
Tenets of  
the Indian  
Brach-  
mans.

<sup>40</sup> He became, says Plutarch, δυσδαίμων πρὸς τὸ θάνατον.



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Prophecy  
and death  
of Calanus.

only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curiosity, or irresistibly captivated by the soothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him ; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his companions. Alexander treated this eastern sage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had passed his seventy-second year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell sick in Persia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horseback) was conveyed in a litter. In sight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to assist at this uncommon solemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre ; the music struck up ; the soldiers raised a shout of war ; and the Indian, with a serene countenance, expired amidst the flames, singing a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The curiosity of Alexander was unbounded ; but his humanity likewise was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline witnessing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his sake, had abandoned his native land. But before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take leave of Alexander, saying, that " he should again see him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetic. Those of Calanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander ; and the painful impression which they made, hastened his departure from a city, in which so many

many concurring circumstances forbid him to re- CHAP.  
side. XXXIX.

His superstitious terrors, however, seem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having resumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to some Grecian ambassadors, who presented him with golden crowns from the submissive flattery of their several republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had so long meditated. But his designs and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often shewn himself too much addicted; and a fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing, he was soon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength, he spent in assisting at daily sacrifices to the Gods. During his illness, he spoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall, the soldiers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching dissolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold

Death of  
Alexander  
at Baby-  
lon.  
Olymp.  
cxiv. 1.  
A. C. 324.  
May 28th.

CHAP. hold him. He was speechless, but had still strength  
XXXIX. to stretch forth his hand. <sup>41</sup>

His character.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whose character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be explained by relating his actions. He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst <sup>42</sup>, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind <sup>43</sup>. In his extensive dominions,

<sup>41</sup> Arrian says, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, such as, that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the "strongest;" and that he had foretold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumours receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which seems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

<sup>42</sup> Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>43</sup> Plutarch says, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in consequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and



minions, he built or founded, not less than seventy cities<sup>44</sup>, the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth<sup>45</sup>. It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when, in the course of one reign, he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been seen to flourish. Yet let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers, what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself: and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, "he seems to have been given to the world by a pecu-

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and honour in Asia. "Ὁ παῖδες ἀπαλομεθα, ἢ μὴ ἀπαλομεθα." "O my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone." In the same manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilised, Egypt would not boast her Alexandria, Mesopotamia her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. *ibid*.

<sup>44</sup> Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tit. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he *sowed* Asia with Greek cities.

<sup>45</sup> Plut. *ibid*. Diodor. Sicul. xvii. §3. Stephen. Byzant. in voc. *Ἀλεξάνδρου*.

CHAP. XXXIX. liar dispensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind <sup>46</sup>."

The faults  
or crimes  
of which  
he is accu-  
sed,

From the part which his father Philip and himself acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has been transmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery, or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which disgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic accounts of his reign, and inconsistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the present work, it seemed unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to select and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge, that Alexander's actions were not always blameless; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and resulted from his situation rather than from his character.

resulted  
from his  
situation  
rather  
than from  
his cha-  
racter.

From the first years of his reign, he experienced the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired at independence; others formed conspiracies against the life of their master. The first criminals were treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity becoming the generous spirit of Alexander. But when Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and even Parmenio

Olymp.  
cxii. 4.  
A.C. 329.

<sup>46</sup> Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἡ τῆς θύης φῦται ἀπὸ δούλου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοιοῦτος. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of prophane history to enquire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

Parmenio <sup>47</sup> himself, afforded reason to suspect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the institution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their sovereign <sup>48</sup>, he found it necessary to depart from his le-  
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I i 2

nient

<sup>47</sup> Philotas was punished in the country of the Ariei; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & seqq.), who has given the fullest account of these executions, says, that Philotas deserved not the compassion of his friends: "*Amicorum misericordiam non meruit.*" He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a sacrifice to his own treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who disdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously assassinating his friends.

<sup>48</sup> This conspiracy is related by Arrian, l. iv. c. xiii. and xiv. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the king, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordained him to be whipped. The disgrace seemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conspiracy was formed to destroy Alexander in his sleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy the son of Lagus. The youths confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Callisthenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to respect (Arrian, p. 871). The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when persons accused were tried before numerous assemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth, and destroyed atrocious offenders on the spot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Callisthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suasor. i. Justin, l. xv. c. iii. Philostratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356, & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injustice done the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca. "*Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla*



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nient system, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled prosperity, and the submissive reverence of vanquished nations, his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions, than subjects. The pretensions which sound policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to prostrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal sovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects. With a view to reconcile the discordant principles of the victors and vanquished, he affected an immediate descent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which, he had reason to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged

*nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsam quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit.* Yet this Callisthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotism of the Greeks, and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipsed their own. In speaking of Philip and his son, even Cicero (*de Offic.*) says, “*Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus.*” See likewise Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The last mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii. goes out of his way to allege very inconclusive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would have certainly been conquered by the Romans.

<sup>a</sup>cknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the success of this design, which might have entitled him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obedience from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first, by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of several of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterised the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which disgraced his age and country.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to endure. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions to divinity. The king, being likewise intoxicated, was no longer master of himself, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his presence, returned a second time to the charge, and behaved more insolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thrust a spear into the breast of his friend<sup>49</sup>; but instantly repenting his fury,

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Murder of  
Clitus.  
Olymp.  
cxiii. 1.  
A.C. 328.

<sup>49</sup> Montesquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit deux mauvaises actions; il brula Persepolis & tua Clitus." (Esprit des

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fury, would have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorse, which neither flattery could soften, nor sophistry appease<sup>so</sup>, rendered his life burdensome, and his actions inconsistent. At times, he assumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred the Barbarians; and, in several passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror, appears to have been beset with flatterers, surrounded by conspirators, adored by the passive submission of his eastern subjects, and insulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians.

Difficulties of Alexander's situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter, tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shews the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the service,

des Loix, l. x. c. xiv.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, ascribes entirely to the insolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blameable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

<sup>so</sup> Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus, the sophist, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Justice was described by the ancients as seated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whose actions ought to be held just by themselves and others. This flagitious servility Arrian spurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.



service, and safely conducted to their respective CHAP. provinces. This proposal, which ought to have XXXIX.

been accepted with gratitude, was heard with disgust. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The king, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the king sprung from the rostrum on which he stood, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his Targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt severity appeased the rising tumult. The soldiers remained motionless and silent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the rostrum, and spoke as follows: "It is not my design, His own  
Macedonians, to change your resolution. Return account of  
home, without hindrance from me. But, before the reign  
leaving the camp, first learn to know your king of Philip  
and yourselves. My father Philip (for with him and him-  
self.  
it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in  
Macedon, miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains some wretched herds, which you had neither strength nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illyrians, and Treballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your fastnesses, but in your valour. By his wisdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines  
of

CHAP. of gold, instructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to those nations, XXXIX. at whose names you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chastised the Phocians, reduced the Thessalians, and, while I shared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been successively tributaries, subjects, and slaves. But my father rendered you their masters; and having entered the Peloponnesus, and regulated at discretion the affairs of that peninsula, he was appointed, by universal consent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himself, than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarce sixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, safely crossed the Hellespont, though the Persians still commanded the sea. By one victory we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia, were added to your empire. Yours now are Bactria and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Assyria, the wealth of Susa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, satraps. What have I reserved for myself, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures<sup>31</sup>? Or why should I collect

<sup>31</sup> It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these, as distinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed

I collect them? Are *my* pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than many of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breast, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every sort of weapon. I often watch, that you may enjoy repose; and, to testify my unremitting attention to your happiness, had determined to send home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But since you are all desirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the signal bounty of your king, you entrusted him to the vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless, will bespeak your gratitude and piety<sup>52</sup>." C H A P.  
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Having thus spoken, he sprang from the rostrum, and hastened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his presence. On the third, he called the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then issued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by such other names as commanded greatest respect. Apprized of these innovations, the Macedonians who had long remained in confusion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and deposited their arms at the gate, humbly requesting to see their king, and declaring that they would never stir from

Affecting scene at Opis on the Tigris. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A.C. 325.

played in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing such public designs as seemed conducive to the prosperity of the empire.

<sup>52</sup> Arrian, p. 152, & seqq.



CHAP. from the place, till their tears had moved his com-  
 XXXIX. passion. Alexander came forth, beheld their  
 abasement, and wept. The affecting silence,  
 marked by alternate emotions of repentance and  
 reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a  
 man highly esteemed in the cavalry: "Thy Ma-  
 cedonians, O king! are grieved that the Persians  
 alone should be called thy kindred, and entitled  
 as such to embrace thee, while none of themselves  
 are allowed to taste that honour<sup>33</sup>." Alexander  
 replied, "From this moment you are all my kin-  
 dred." Callines then stepped forward and em-  
 braced him; and several others having followed  
 the example, they all took up their arms, and  
 returned to the camp with shouts of joy, and  
 songs.

A festival  
 celebrated  
 in com-  
 mon by  
 the Mace-  
 donians  
 and Per-  
 sians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring testi-  
 mony of his historians) Alexander was the most  
 mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank hea-  
 ven for the happy issue of this transaction, he cele-  
 brated a solemn sacrifice, and, after the sacrifice,  
 an entertainment for the principal of his European  
 and Asiatic subjects. The Macedonians were next  
 to his person; the Persians next the Macedonians;  
 the Grecian priests and Persian magi joined in  
 common libations, invoking perpetual concord,  
 and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians  
 and Persians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose  
 dismissal had produced the mutiny, gladly re-  
 turned home. Alexander discharged their arrears,  
 allowed them full pay until their arrival in Mace-  
 don, and granted each soldier a gratuity of two  
 hundred pounds sterling. He again shed tears at  
 parting

<sup>33</sup> Arrian says, "While none of themselves ever tasted that honour." *Μακεδόνων οὐκ ἔστιν ἑστῶς τῆς τιμῆς.* Arrian, p. 154.

parting with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served him in so many glorious campaigns; and, as a testimony of his affectionate concern for their safety, appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own life<sup>34</sup>, to be their conductor.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the state of the ancient world. But the spirit of improvement is transient, and demands perpetual efforts: the sources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability. Perdiccas, in virtue of possessing the ring or seal of his deceased master, assumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of Perdiccas. Each general trusted in his sword

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XXXIX.

Division  
of Alex-  
ander's  
conquests.

<sup>34</sup> Arrian, p. 155.

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sword for an independent establishment; new troops were raised and disciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became successively prisoners in different hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any cessation of crimes and calamities<sup>55</sup>, or any permanent settlement of the provinces, until the battle of Issus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Asia<sup>56</sup>. The issue of the same battle gave Macedon and Greece to Cassander, and Thrace, with several provinces of Lower Asia, to Lyfimachus.

Subse-  
quent his-  
tory of  
Egypt  
and Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till subdued by the Romans, to be governed by the respective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally<sup>57</sup> adopted the language or manners of their Grecian sovereigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander accomplished the commercial improvements planned

<sup>55</sup> Diodor. Sicul. l. xix, & xx. passim.

<sup>56</sup> Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

<sup>57</sup> Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Christian æra, it was spoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judæa, since the inspired writers employed it in propagating the gospel, which was to be first preached to the Jews. For this universality, the Greek seems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander, whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the sociable and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.), whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; so that, from the time of Homer, it subsisted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and four hundred years.



planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation was greater than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

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In the history of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts<sup>38</sup>, and its vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquisition of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

<sup>38</sup> Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this more in the next chapter.

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wealth<sup>39</sup> of those nations, they are entitled to little regard from posterity, since, from the death of Alexander, they were not distinguished by any invention that either improved the practice of war, or increased the enjoyments of peace.

State of  
Greece  
after the  
age of A-  
lexander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization diffused through the East, was sufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assimilate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the principle of degeneracy is often stronger than that of improvement, the sloth and servility of Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its most enterprising inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally insulted by the severity and the indulgence of his successors, since, in either case, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to submit to a master, they lost that elevation of character, and that enthusiasm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed by the just sense of national pre-eminence. Their domestic dissensions, by carrying them in great numbers into the service of foreign princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their tactics and discipline through countries far more extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the captains of Alexander uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism, which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects

<sup>39</sup> Of which see an account extracted from the public registers, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

objects to rouse their activity, the example of their C H A P. ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire XXXIX. them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated ; the fire of genius was extinguished ; exertion perished with hope ; and, exclusively of the Achæan League<sup>60</sup>, the unfortunate issue of which has been already explained in this work<sup>61</sup>, Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

<sup>60</sup> The judicious Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his invaluable history of the progress and aggrandisement of the Roman republic.

<sup>61</sup> See vol. i. c. xi.



## C H A P. XL.

*State of Literature in the Age of Alexander.—Poetry.—Music.—Arts of Design.—Geography.—Astronomy.—Natural History.—Works of Aristotle.—Philosophical Sects established at Athens.—Decline of Genius.—Tenets of the different Sects.—Peripatetic Philosophy.—Estimate of that Philosophy.—Its Fate in the World.—Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.—The Stoic Philosophy.—Estimate of that Philosophy.—The Epicurean Philosophy.—Character of Epicurus.—Philosophy of Pyrrho.—Conclusion.*

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XL.

State of  
literature  
in the age  
of Alex-  
ander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; yet the source of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of that illustrious conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus<sup>1</sup>, who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled success, which far eclipsed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and servile superstition<sup>2</sup>. Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that swelling amplification of stile, those meretricious

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, in Proem.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian de Scribend. Histor.

meretricious ornaments, and affected graces, which characterised the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Onesicritus, and Hegesias<sup>3</sup>. The false taste of these pretended historians, to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many of their contemporaries. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece, in the age which had applauded the chaste and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes<sup>4</sup>. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those who are incapable of excellence, still covet distinction, and despairing to equal their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, have recourse to false conceits and artificial refinements.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the serious kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, capable to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts; who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the

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K k

Thersites

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, l. xix. p. 446.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. passim.

CHAP. Therſites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chæri-  
 XL. lus<sup>5</sup>. Yet in the ſame age Philemon, Anti-  
 Improve- phanes<sup>6</sup>, Lycon<sup>7</sup>, above all, the Athenian Me-  
 ment of nander, carried comedy to the higheſt perfection  
 comedy. which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity.  
 During the republican form of government, the  
 inſtitutions and character of the Greeks were ex-  
 tremely unfavourable to this ſpecies of writing.  
 The licentious turbulence of democracy generally  
 converted their attempts at wit and humour into  
 petulance and buffoonery. The change of go-  
 vernment and manners, requiring due reſpect to  
 the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution,  
 improved their diſcernment, and gradually made  
 them ſenſible to that refined ridicule, where more  
 is meant than ſaid, and to thoſe more intereſting,  
 becauſe juſter, delineations of character, which  
 diſtinguiſhed the common ſtrains of Philemon and  
 Menander<sup>8</sup>.

Muſic.

Alexander, during his early youth, took de-  
 light in dramatic entertainments. Theſſalus was  
 his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more ap-  
 proved by the public. To Athenadorus, the ma-  
 giſtrates, who, according to the Grecian cuſtom,  
 were appointed to decide the pretenſions of rival  
 candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize  
 of merit. The young hero declared, that this deci-  
 ſion gave him more pain than he would have felt  
 at the loſs of his inheritance<sup>9</sup>. The muſicians Ti-  
 motheus<sup>10</sup> and Antigenides<sup>11</sup> ſtill diſplayed the  
 wonderful

<sup>5</sup> Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii.

c. v.

<sup>6</sup> Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Plut. Comp. Ariſtoph. & Menand.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>10</sup> Hephæſt. de Metr.

<sup>11</sup> Pint. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.



wonderful effects of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, we find that music, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times universally employed to seduce and inflame the passions <sup>12</sup>.

CHAP.  
XL.

The arts of design, painting, sculpture, and architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge <sup>13</sup>, than munificence to reward them. The eastern expedition of the latter introduced, or at least greatly multiplied, in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited some of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of Pyrgoteles were distinguished in this valuable, though minute art <sup>14</sup>. He enjoyed the exclusive honour of representing the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lyfippus of casting it in bronze, and Apelles of painting it in colours <sup>15</sup>. Lyfippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation of nature, without yielding to his predecessors in ideal beauty <sup>16</sup>. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is said to have made six hundred and ten figures in bronze <sup>17</sup>; a

Arts of  
design.

K k 2

number

<sup>12</sup> Aristot. Politic. l. viii. c. vi.

<sup>13</sup> Judicium subtile videndis artibus.

Horat. Epist. l. ii. Epist. i. v. 242.

<sup>14</sup> Plin. l. vii. c. xxxvii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

<sup>15</sup> Vid. Plin. Edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217—228.

<sup>16</sup> Plin. iii. 194. & seqq.

<sup>17</sup> The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous statue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lausanne.

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XL.

Apelles  
and other  
contem-  
porary  
artists.

number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far surpassed that of all statuary, ancient or modern. The numerous list of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; since no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed<sup>18</sup>. The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus<sup>19</sup>, whom Apelles acknowledged as his superiors in some parts of composition; Aristides, the Theban, who was inimitable in expression<sup>20</sup>; and Protogenes, of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted to paint the immortal exploits of Alexander<sup>21</sup>. The inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus<sup>22</sup> confined himself to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus<sup>23</sup> to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting was explained in many works, the loss of which is much to be regretted<sup>24</sup>.

Works of  
Apelles.

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his fame<sup>25</sup>. His picture of Alexander, grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to re-  
store

<sup>18</sup> Plin. iii. 222.

<sup>19</sup> Idem, iii. 226.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, iii. 215—225.

<sup>21</sup> He exhorted him to paint them "propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Plin. iii. 226.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, iii. 229.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Plin. iii. 222, & seq.

store the parts that had been effaced : so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation from being the mistress of a king, to become the possession of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness<sup>26</sup> of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged himself inferior to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this unworthy passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity ; raised the price of his pictures ; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the same talents in their fellow-citizen, which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit<sup>27</sup>.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased<sup>28</sup>. By this expression, Pliny

Decline  
of the  
arts after  
the death  
of Alex-  
ander.

<sup>26</sup> " Deesse iis unam venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant ; cetera omnia contigisse ; sed hæc solâ sibi neminem parem." Plin. iii. 222, & seqq.

<sup>27</sup> Plin. *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> " Cessavit deinde ars." Plin. *ibid.*



CHAP. Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated,  
 XL. but to make farther progress; since neither the  
 the scholars of Apelles and Lyfippus, nor those  
 who came after them, were capable to reach the  
 glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of  
 Egypt and Syria seem to have bent their attention  
 rather to literature, than to the arts. But, in both,  
 the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never as-  
 pired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly  
 imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its  
 neighbourhood to that country, the arts took  
 firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and,  
 from the same circumstance, they seem to have  
 flourished longer and more abundantly in the  
 little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia,  
 than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and  
 Egypt <sup>29</sup>.

Geogra-  
 phy.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to  
 the improvement of the sciences, both natural and  
 moral. His marches were carefully measured by  
 Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers <sup>30</sup> were  
 employed to survey the more remote parts of the  
 countries which he traversed; and the exact de-  
 scription of his conquests, which, from these and  
 other materials, he took care to have compiled  
 by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave  
 a new form to the science of geography <sup>31</sup>.

Astrono-  
 my.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander  
 eagerly demanded the astronomical observations,  
 which had been carefully preserved in that ancient  
 capital above nineteen centuries. The remounted  
 twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond  
 the

<sup>29</sup> Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, p. 711, & seqq.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, &c. *Academ. des Sciences*, t. viii. p. 13.

the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they CHAP.  
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were faithfully transcribed, and transmitted to Aristotle<sup>32</sup>, who was probably prevented by his infirm state of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Nor was this the only present to his preceptor, Natural  
history.  
by which Alexander displayed at once his gratitude and love of science. Natural history was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expence of near two hundred thousand pounds, a sum equivalent to two millions in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals<sup>33</sup>, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision<sup>34</sup> in his work on that subject.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge Moral  
know-  
ledge,  
owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests<sup>35</sup>. The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of manners, institutions, and usages; nor was this advantage, perhaps, confined to those who performed the expedition, whose works have unfortunately perished; since the moral and political

<sup>32</sup> Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

<sup>33</sup> Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

<sup>34</sup> See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

<sup>35</sup> The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, *διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον*. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, *Καὶ τῶν μὴ γὰρ ἐμφανῶν, &c.* should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

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tical treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

Works of  
Aristotle.

“Aristotle,” says Lord Bacon<sup>36</sup>, “thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his brethren;” nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material, world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions beyond all human knowledge, with the same confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

His philosophy.

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy,

<sup>36</sup> De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. iv.



phy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics<sup>37</sup>, is obscure throughout, often unintelligible, still more chimerical, but far less agreeable than that of his master Plato. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence, substance, quality, genus, species, &c.* which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names, rather than new discoveries; and the doctrine of the immortality is no where so fully elucidated by this philosopher, as it had been by Plato.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the name of metaphysic, in the modern sense of that word, since he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abstract ideas, not by observation and experience. When he descends to particulars,

<sup>37</sup> By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his *Physics*, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were conceived as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and criticism; and morals, including economics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609. and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

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particulars, he betrays more ignorance concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals; he was well acquainted, considering the gross errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not yet invented. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to *observe* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they should imitate her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Aristotle appears to have been less versed than his predecessors, Pythagoras and Plato; although, in the invention of the art of syllogism, he displays a perseverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical sciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries.

Logic.

The scepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, and still more the captious sophistry of the Eristics, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with more attention than his predecessors, the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation, and the snares of subtlety. He undertook, therefore, the arduous task, of resolving all reasoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises, in order to render it legitimate. This bold design he accomplished; having erected on a single axiom, a larger system of abstract truths, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he sets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the ap-  
plication

plication of this axiom is for the most part sufficient-  
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 ently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtleties of the Sophists and *Eristics*, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Aristotle's writings perished<sup>38</sup>, had nothing been saved but the works above-mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of the posterity. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we can only lament vast efforts, mispent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political writings, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind, the same subtlety of reasoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of great importance and extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himself, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician. In his early youth, he was sent to Athens, and remained there twenty  
 His great opportunities of improvement.  
 A C. 368.

<sup>38</sup> See the fate of his works carefully related in Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.



CHAP. twenty years an assiduous scholar of Plato, in a  
 XL. city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with unexampled success, and where the philosophic spirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigour. Selected by the discernment of Philip, to guide and confirm the promising dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, several proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library<sup>39</sup>, a work of prodigious expence in that age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Aristotle was collected for use, not merely for ostentation<sup>40</sup>.

His long  
 residence  
 at Athens,

The last fourteen years of his life he spent mostly at Athens, surrounded with every assistance which men<sup>41</sup> and books could afford him, for prosecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, ensured tranquillity and respect to the man, whom he distinguished as his friend; but after the premature death of that illustrious protector, the invidious jealousy of priests and sophists inflamed the malignant

<sup>39</sup> Strabo.

<sup>40</sup> The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They considered a great library as contributing to the superfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. 2. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Homin.

<sup>41</sup> Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical enquiries and compositions. *Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν οὐκ δυνατὸς θεωρεῖν βέλτερον δ' ἴσως συνεργὸς ἔχον.* Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the same odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive <sup>42</sup> virtue of Socrates, fiercely assailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of persecution, he secretly withdrew himself to Chalcis, in Eubœa. This measure was sufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal safety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrasted with the firmness of Socrates in a similar situation, he condescended to apologise for his flight, by saying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second opportunity "to sin against philosophy <sup>43</sup>." He seems to have survived his retreat from Athens only a few months; vexation and regret probably shortened his days <sup>44</sup>.

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and death.

Olymp.

CXIV. 3.

A.C. 322.

Ætat. 63.

Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of speculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripateton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics <sup>45</sup>. At the same time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his disciples derived the appellation of Stoics <sup>46</sup>. Epicurus explained *pleasure* in those well-known gardens, which were distinguished

Philoso-

phical

f. &amp; estab-

lished at

Athens.

<sup>42</sup> Virtutem incolumem odimus

Sublatam ex oculis querimus invidi HORACE.

<sup>43</sup> Αμαρτανειν περι την Φιλοσοφiam. Ælian, l. iii. c. vi.

<sup>44</sup> Laert. l. v. in Aristot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Histor. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 787, & seqq.

<sup>45</sup> The common opinion, that the followers of Aristotle were called Peripatetics, *ex τῷ Περιπατεῖν*. "Ex deambulati-one;" adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

<sup>46</sup> Laert. vii. 5.

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distinguished by his name <sup>47</sup>. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cynosarges <sup>48</sup>; Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded Plato in the academy <sup>49</sup>; and even Pyrrho, the Elian, the founder of the sceptical sect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition, and shared the munificence of that prince <sup>50</sup>, became, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens <sup>51</sup>. Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the seat of learning, assumed that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths <sup>52</sup>. For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the several sects, submissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius disappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new sect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been assigned for the termination of the present work, seems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and singularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence <sup>53</sup>; or because, in the words of a great philosopher,

<sup>47</sup> Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Suidas in Speusipp. *Laert.* l. iv. c. 1. & seqq.

<sup>50</sup> Sextus Empiric. *Pyrrhon Hypotyp.* l. i. c. iii.

<sup>51</sup> *Laert.* in *Pyrrhon.*

<sup>52</sup> See Gibbon's *History of the Roman Empire*, v. iii. c. xxx.

<sup>53</sup> Long. *de Sublim. sect.* 44.



philosopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction."

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Instead of examining this speculative question, which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better suit the design of an historical work, to explain the tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various successes in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperverted sentiment, and impartial reason.

Tenets of  
the differ-  
ent sects.

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happiness of man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise<sup>34</sup> of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Aristotle, the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the same manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, resulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, consisting of mind and matter, it seemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his

Tenets of  
the Peri-  
patetic  
sect.

<sup>34</sup> The Stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. *Ὁ μὲν φιλοδοξῶς ἀλλοτρίας ἐργίας ἰδίῳ αγαθῷ ὑπολαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ φιληδέιος ἰδίῳ πόνῳ· ὁ δὲ ἡδυσταγὴς ἰδίῳ πρᾶξιν.* M. Anton. vi 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the action of others; the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wise man, in his own active exertions."

CHAP. XL. his body, and on the means necessary to maintain this inferior part of his nature in its most perfect state. The absence of disease and and infirmity, and the proper constitution of all our bodily organs, are things desirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means to exert those mental energies, from which our principal felicity results. In the same manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are desirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wise man is enabled to exercise his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities<sup>55</sup>, Aristotle required not that perfect self-command to which some philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as suitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain sensibility of passion not only excusable, but necessary; since resentment enabled us to repel injuries<sup>56</sup>, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the evils that might otherwise overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmest of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam<sup>57</sup>; he maintained, however, that we ourselves were the principal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were  
ever

<sup>55</sup> Ουτε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας κινηθῆσθαι ῥαδίον· ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν τε-  
χνητῶν ἀποχρηστέον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μεγάλων καὶ πολλῶν. Ethic. Nicom.  
I. i. c. x.

<sup>56</sup> To bear insults tamely, was regarded as highly ungrace-  
ful, and becoming only the character of a slave. Τοῦτο προση-  
λαμίζουσιν ἀνιχνύσθαι ἀδραποδῶδες. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Ἐν τυχαῖς Πριαμικαῖς. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

ever and intimately present with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure subject to our own direction and controul, than on our external situation and circumstances, which only affected us by accident, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and sometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar lustre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleasure always alleviated the smart of external wounds. Assailed by the most terrible afflictions, a wise man would not deserve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miserable*, since he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and controul. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves<sup>58</sup>.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of those, we possess some in common with other animals<sup>59</sup>, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of nature<sup>60</sup>. In none of these, it is evident, can the

Division  
of the  
mental  
powers.

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L I

proper

<sup>58</sup> In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have endeavoured to translate, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. The outline has been traced with equal perspicuity and elegance by Dr. Adam Smith, in his Account of the Systems of Ancient Philosophy, annexed to his admired Theory of Moral Sentiments. The design of my work obliges me to treat the subject more particularly.

<sup>59</sup> The *το αισθητικον*, the powers of sensation, &c.

<sup>60</sup> The *το βιωτικον*, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.



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Intellectual and moral virtues.

proper employment of man consist, but rather in such faculties as being peculiar to himself, distinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellencies of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will<sup>61</sup>; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and assimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will, are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wisdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit<sup>62</sup> of the intellectual part of the soul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the desires and affections, which being formed subordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their sovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name<sup>63</sup>. It is by practising justice, that

<sup>61</sup> I have ventured to use this word to express the *το ορεκτικόν* of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

<sup>62</sup> *Επαινεταί δὲ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰξίν τὴν ἰξίν δὲ τὰς ἐπαινετάς, αρετάς λεγόμεν.* Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

<sup>63</sup> *Ἠθικός εἶδος*; *moralis, mos*. The same holds not in English. The words *αρετή* in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute,

that we become just; by practising temperance, CHAP.  
that we become temperate; by practising courage, XL.  
that we become courageous. Hence the wonder-  
ful power of legislation, and early institution; by  
which the Cretans, the Spartans, and some other  
nations, were honourably distinguished among the  
rest of mankind; and by which such states as shall

L 1 2

wisely

tute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue; and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, &c. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind; and the mental virtues, they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterises moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for saying, "that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie appears to me to go too far in asserting, "that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and sometimes discoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and insignificant, or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as distinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. passim; and particularly, l. iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former totally independent of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection and happiness. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

CHAP. XL. wisely imitate their example, may still reach the same elevation of character, and still acquire the same renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accustomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is established by nature, cannot be essentially changed by custom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, descend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally ascends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The same holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our senses, and other natural gifts, have the *power* of performing their several functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we should allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preserved by practice only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable to attain it, but the invaluable attainment must be made and perfected by habit. Yet the greater part of those who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse to vain speculations, flattering themselves that this is philosophy. Their conduct resembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his physician, but do nothing which he prescribed. By such medicine it is not possible to cure the disorders of the body, nor by such philosophy, those of the mind.

Wherein it consists.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphysical precision. It is to be observed, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain point



point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind resembles bodily health and strength, which are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment and exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we should fear only such objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the same manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and seizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by such objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called insensible. Temperance teaches us to pursue only such pleasures as we ought, at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occasions. According to the same view of things, generosity lies in the middle between avarice and profusion; modesty, between pride and diffidence; mildness, between irascibility and softness; magnificence, between ostentation and parsimony; popularity, between forbidding disdain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue consists in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes<sup>64</sup>.

Considered as the quality of an action, virtue consists in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too strong nor too weak, but has precisely that degree of strength, which right reason teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue

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<sup>64</sup> Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. c. i. & seqq.

CHAP. XL. virtue consists, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this mediocrity, since, in judging persons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but such acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The most worthless of human kind sometimes indulge the propensity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right merely from feeling, will also, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The sentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in distress, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewise prompt us to gratify the vilest and most brutal of our passions. Besides this, there are many, and those the most important virtues, the exercise of which is not at first attended with pleasure. To support labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wisdom and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not obviously recommended by any natural desire; nor is the practice of such duties immediately agreeable. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance, to curb and restrain our natural appetites for pleasure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumspection, and ever watchful attention to the most remote consequences of our actions, which is essential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts, and many difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all those virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice, patriotism, and friendship, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only sure test that we have acquired them, is, that they are practised with pleasure. With good reason, therefore, Plato defines  
education

education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice CHAP.  
and grieve as they ought; for though there be XL  
three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleasant, the  
honourable, and useful; yet honour and utility are  
likewise pursued as pleasures<sup>65</sup>.

The most extensive part of virtue is employed, The hardest  
therefore, in regulating our desire of pleasure, and task of  
aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, moral vir-  
as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat plea- tue.  
sure than anger. The irascible passions are al-  
ways moved by some appearance of reason; and,  
in their most furious excesses, still affect some de-  
ference for their sovereign. They often, indeed,  
mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants,  
fly into action, without waiting his last orders.  
But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without re-  
garding reason at all. The mischief is the more  
dangerous, being produced by the first object of  
natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implant-  
ed in our frame; the germ expands with our na-  
ture; and unless counteracted in due time, be-  
comes ingrained in our constitution, every part of  
which it impregnates and stains. Habit alone can  
counteract those dangerous propensities of nature.  
Habit can enable us to reject dithonourable or  
hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful  
pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, "there is a  
long-continued exercise of attention, which finally  
becomes nature<sup>66</sup>."

The

<sup>65</sup> Ethic. Nicom. I. vii. c. xi. & seqq.

<sup>66</sup> Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few frag-  
ments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

Φημι τολυχροσιον μελετην εμεναι φιλε και δη

Ταυτην ανθρωποισι τελευτωσαν φυσιν ειναι.

This is better attested by the Greek proverb: 'Ελε βιον  
αριστον, ηδυν δε αυτον η συνηθεια ποιησει. Plat. Moral. p. 302.

"Choose the best life, and custom will render it agree-  
able."



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## XL.

Intellectual virtues the purest and most permanent source of happiness.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual; but the latter may subsist alone and independent; and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the purest and most permanent felicity of which man is susceptible, results from the exercise of his rational powers upon subjects of abstract speculation. The labours of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of man. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, require many conditions, and suppose a variety of situations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may distribute his justice or generosity; he must possess the means by which to exercise those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; since, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigencies of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wisdom are pure and simple, like the intellectual source from which they spring. Not subservient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every side, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercise of every member or faculty, enlivens the sense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleasure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect, which renders us sensible of the divine principle within us! To live according to nature, is to live according to the noblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation,

on, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality<sup>67</sup>; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods<sup>68</sup>.

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Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Estimate  
of Aristotle's  
philosophy.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued several centuries. The peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens; but the Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Academy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and science generally preferred Plato to Aristotle<sup>69</sup>; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty,

Its fate in  
the world.

<sup>67</sup> Χρη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς παλαιότητος, ἀνθρώπων φρονεῖν, ἀνθρώπων οὐκ, ἐπεὶ βίητις τὸν θνητὸν ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδεχεται ἀπαθανάτισθαι, καὶ ἅπαντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸ κρείττον των ἐν αὐτῷ. *Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii*

<sup>68</sup> Ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ τὴν θέρπευσιν, καὶ διακείμενος ἀγαθῶν, καὶ θεοφιλεστάτος εἰσὶν εἶναι. *Ibid. c. x. c. viii.*

<sup>69</sup> Cicero, *passim*.

CHAP. liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the  
 XL. fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the only doctrines adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Ecclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty without the genius, of Plato<sup>70</sup>. During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, phisic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the insolence of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and practical works of Aristotle were neglected, his speculative philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romish superstition, they long conspired, with astonishing success, to enthrall the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less perspicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions, less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path should have

<sup>70</sup> Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult, on this subject, professor Meiner's *Beytrag uber die Neu Platonische Philosophie*. Leipzig. 1782.



have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil, and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and desirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely desirable for the sake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride, loudly asserting, that the philosophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary sage an absolute command over his passions; and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their system; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods; and, in proportion as their principles receded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffused with greater rapidity, more zealously embraced, and more obstinately defended<sup>71</sup>.

In examining by what shew of reason, men, whose wisdom was recovered by their contemporaries, could arrive at such extraordinary conclusions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philosopher affected, with great accuracy, to examine the natural propensities of the human race; to observe the various changes which they underwent in their progress from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external causes on our internal frame; and,

<sup>71</sup> Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i, ii, iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

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and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to display the illustrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature had assigned him. Self-preservation, he observed, was the universal and primary desire of all animals. In man, this desire respected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex existence in the most perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleasure to the means necessary for this purpose; but that we desired pleasure for the sake of preservation, not preservation for the sake of pleasure, he thought evident from the first motions and efforts of all animals, tending to prevent dissolution, and preceding any distinct notions of pain or pleasure<sup>72</sup>.

Love of  
truth.

Although in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he showed himself endowed with desires of a different and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his senses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to express these objects, as well as the notions of his own mind concerning them; and had no sooner made this important acquisition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, and dependencies of the

<sup>72</sup> The principles of the stoical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the stoics.

the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and sincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he conversed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the source of innumerable errors and prejudices, served, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be built.

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In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became sensible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleasure of beholding it. The sentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary sentiments, to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his sentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great society of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views still farther, he perceived that every species is relative to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally subservient to each other, while all of them essentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that universal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrow-

Social af-  
fection.

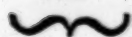
Universal  
system.

ness



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ness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehension, we shall find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one scheme or constitution of things. The individuals of the human race were doubtless formed not for themselves alone. In the different sexes, the external organization, and still more the inward frame, the correspondence of parts, and still more the sympathy of sentiments, indicate the male and female mutually destined for each other. The naked helplessness of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in small communities, must have fallen a prey to the savages of the desert; and with the growth of these communities, social affection naturally makes progress; since, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are continually multiplied and strengthened.

Rules of  
duty  
thence de-  
rived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he stands, man becomes sensible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her universal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the lesser, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our choice, we live consistently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred to those of the body; and what is called private interest must yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the same class, the general law must be observed. We must prefer and reject, according to

to the rules of right reason, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of desire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to strength, and strength to agility; and in the secondary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleasures, and ward off bodily pains, such as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumstances of a similar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection<sup>73</sup>. In thus appreciating the objects of desire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which essentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of desire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of sentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are recommended are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, so the duties of wisdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by the original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonised to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of

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<sup>73</sup> The technical terms of the stoical philosophy, like all terms of art, sound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, *ορεγισθαι* and *εκκλινειν*.

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of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote; this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the sole, end of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and sickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleasure, are finally considered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of shaking the stability of our happiness.

The pleasure of observing them.

It is in vain that men seek felicity in those objects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they possess, they fear to lose; and which fortune can either give or take away<sup>74</sup>. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal source of our happiness or misery. To a wise man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, since there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favour, and to be sensible, that whatever may be the consequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules which the Divinity prescribes, affords a degree of inward satisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the Ægean, as a single step is disregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian sun<sup>75</sup>, so the external conveniencies of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured,

<sup>74</sup> Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ φύσει ἐλευθέρᾳ, ἀκώλυτα, ἀπαρμποδισά-  
τα δὲ ἐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἀσθενῶν, δούλων, κωλύτα, ἀλλοτριᾶ. Epictet. En-  
chir. c. ii.

<sup>75</sup> The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.



secured, and lost, in the transcendent excellence, and incomparable splendor of virtue. CHAP.  
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Those dangers which appear most formidable, and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or deject the man, who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himself alone; a consideration sufficient to support him against the number and strength of his enemies<sup>76</sup>. When the firm probity of Regulus submitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the Carthaginians, he well knew that those revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotism, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by such an assemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every assault. The mind of Regulus still triumphed; and amidst the painful discription of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside.

From the enthusiasm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the stoics again returned to the

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M m

speculations

<sup>76</sup> Απλητος είναι δυνασαι, και εις μηδεν αγωνη καταβαιναι, οτι αν  
εστι και σοι δυναται. Enchir. c. xxv.

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speculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a constitution or system, the good of each each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, considered as something separate and independent, consisted in preserving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneasiness. But considered as the part of a system, in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member must often submit to great inconveniences. For the sake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and sometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when such operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refusing to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot; in the same manner do *you* cease to be a man, in shrinking from the hardest duties required by the interest of society. But that society itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger system, that harmonious whole, whose admirable order and beauty evince the superintendence of infinite wisdom and goodness. Under such government, no absolute evil can exist; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wise man will therefore be alike satisfied with every situation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, that situation would, even to himself, appear the most proper, that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means

means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully submits to the wise dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wise intentions concerning him: he prays that they would show him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed; that by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness, and his perfect resignation to their sovereign will <sup>77</sup>.

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If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to occasion us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our control, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to *ourselves*.

Com-  
mand  
over the  
passions.

M m 2

The

<sup>77</sup> Ἀγὲ δὴ με, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη,  
Ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν ἐμὶ διατιταγμένος,  
Ὡς εἶναι σπυδαῖος ἡδὲ ἀοκνός.

The reason is subjoined,

Εὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃς, εὐχ ἥτις ἐστιν εἶναι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we *must* obey them, whether we are willing or not."



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The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity <sup>78</sup>, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general, which were regarded as perturbations and diseases of the mind, that a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred that all duties were alike easy to him. *His* actions were continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas those of a fool, or one who substituted passion and caprice in the stead of reason and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which so nearly resembles that of many Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathens were but splendid vices," is the source to which all the other paradoxes of the stoics may be traced. Both these Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the consequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as such, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

Vulgar  
estimation  
of actions  
and cha-  
racters.

The ignorant vulgar indeed, and as such the stoics considered all those who were unacquainted with

<sup>78</sup> Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of sympathy with objects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. *Μεχρι μιν τοι λογος μη οκει συμπεριφερεισθαι αυτω* (viz. the person afflicted) *και τυχη συνπιστινιαι και προσεχει μιν τοι, μη και εσθθεν συνπιστινιαις.* Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

with their philosophy, allowed such contingent C H A P. circumstances to influence their appreciation of XL. actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or entrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the second appears a greater monster than the first. To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm which spends its rage in vacuity; the second a cloud, not more tempestuous, that destroys the fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence. In the same manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumstances in which he is placed, may resemble a clear stream rolling through a lonesome solitude, while the other, more advantageously situated with respect to external objects, may resemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, supplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the adjoining country, which it fertilises and adorns.

The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, Corrected by the  
by the  
stoics.  
by the effects which they tend to produce, is the source of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which universally characterise the judgments of the vulgar. But a wise man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge  
against

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against illustrious criminals<sup>79</sup>. The civil magistrate, who is intrusted with the interest of society, and who has that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and consider *them* as sufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify the hearts, of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard<sup>80</sup>. To avert his anger, superstition tells us to repair the bad consequences of our misconduct; and, as this is often impracticable, therefore commands an impossibility: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects, which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to stop the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward<sup>81</sup>.

Philosophy of  
Epicurus.

Such is the philosophy of the stoics, which beside containing several contradictions which all the subtlety of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently

<sup>79</sup> *Ἰμματα προκολλητοῦς ἑδνα ψαγῶν, ἑδνα σπαγῶν, &c.* Enchir. c. lxxii.

<sup>80</sup> Epiet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

<sup>81</sup> Quod si ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, & omnes boni beati sint; quid philosophiâ magis colendum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.



evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus is not less artificial in its texture, and, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its conclusions <sup>82</sup>. Like the lowly plant, which, at first feebly emerging from the ground, gradually rises to a stately tree towering to the sky, the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the primary objects of natural desire and aversion to bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands itself into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the severest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain are the universal objects of desire and aversion is a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the consenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute animals, could they emit articulate sounds, would declare and cry out, that pleasure is the sovereign good, and pain the greatest evil <sup>83</sup>. That they are, not only the greatest and most universal, but the *sole* ultimate objects of desire and aversion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analysing our passions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleasure, and avoid bodily pain. If we desire power and wealth, it is because power and wealth furnish us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Sensible that the good-will of the society in which we live, is necessary to our security, we strive assiduously to acquire it, cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and practise with diligence and alacrity all those social virtues essential to the public safety, in which our own is included. When it is necessary to reject a present pleasure, in order to attain  
a greater

<sup>82</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. & Epicur.

<sup>83</sup> Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. & passim.

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a greater in future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of desire; and when it is necessary to encounter a present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must control the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abstain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus, is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance and fortitude are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to consist in the practice of virtue; so that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-sighted levity and folly.

His analysis of pleasure and pain.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the sensations of bodily pleasure or pain, yet the pleasures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the sensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our sentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies be disposed; we may despise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many intervals of ease; besides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

Bold pretensions of his philosophy.

By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus extracted from the grossest materials, the most sublime

sublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the passions; since no state, and therefore not the little republic of man, can be happy in sedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boasted a felicity which external pleasures might vary, but could not increase; and his security of enjoyment he asserted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, since the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleasures and pains are confined within a narrow span. Having adopted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he rendered it subservient to his morality. The phenomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the small particles of matter; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, those celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither pleased with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under foot the superstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death<sup>84</sup>.

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Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philosopher was ever more admired and beloved by his disciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the same loose doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleasure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy.

<sup>84</sup> Lucretius, *passim*.



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phy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that disease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus<sup>85</sup>, and recommended to him the children of his favourite disciple Metrodorus, assuring him at the same time, that as to himself, he still was happy, since the smart of his bodily sufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Philoso-  
phy of  
Pyrrho.

Such were the philosophical systems respecting life and happiness, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their sentiments and conduct. The excessive scepticism of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of insanity, seems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the speculatists of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent suspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to subjects of every kind by his followers Arcefilas and Carneades<sup>86</sup>. These philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought sufficient for regulating our judgments and actions.

But

<sup>85</sup> Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. sect. ix. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. xxx. & seqq.

<sup>86</sup> Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed what was called, the New Academy, which held the same tenets with the ancient, only asserting them still less positively.

But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus<sup>87</sup>, Protagoras<sup>88</sup>, and Aristippus<sup>89</sup>, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the school-men, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colours, had no external existence in bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the same manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, "that all was relative," Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever, and which were reduced to ten<sup>90</sup>, probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter's<sup>91</sup>, who having finished the picture

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<sup>87</sup> See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

<sup>88</sup> Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. sect. 216.

<sup>89</sup> *Præterea quoniam nequeant sine luce colores  
Esse, neque in luce existant primordia rerum  
Scire licet, quam sint nullo velata colore.*

*Sed ne forte putes solo spoliata colore  
Corpora prima manere; etiam secreta teporis,  
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c. LUCRET. l. ii.*

<sup>90</sup> *Πᾶσι ὅσοι τι.* Sextus Empiric.

<sup>91</sup> Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

<sup>92</sup> Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealces, in painting a horse.

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picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and virtue were no where to be found; a discovery which produced that moderation and indisturbance<sup>93</sup>, that happy indifference, or rather perfect insensibility, which is as naturally attended by happiness, as a body is followed by its shadow<sup>94</sup>.

Conclu-  
sion.

In concluding this work with the scepticism of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated, can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken and cherish our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition.

<sup>93</sup> *Ἀταραξία*. Sextus Empiric.

<sup>94</sup> Sextus Empiric. ubi supra, & passim.



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